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Reliefs from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty: Reconstruction, Iconography, and Style

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THIS ARTICLE IS DEVOTED TO the relief decoration of the tomb (Theban Tomb [TT] 312) built for the Vizier Nespakashuty D, called Nespakashuty in the text. His tomb was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian expedition in 1922–23. The fragmentary state of the decoration and the location of relief fragments in different museums have prevented scholars from publishing this important tomb before now. A two-year Andrew W. Mellon fellowship granted by the Metropolitan Museum made it possible for me to collect the fragments, study them, and reconstruct some scenes from the tomb.

NESPAKASHUTY AND HIS TOMB

The tomb of the vizier Nespakashuty, overseer of Upper Egypt under Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.), the first pharaoh of the Saite Twenty-sixth Dynasty, lies in western Thebes at Deir el-Bahri.¹ The tomb may be dated about 656–650 B.C. because Nespakashuty signed the Oracle Papyrus as the fourth witness in 651 B.C., in the fourteenth year of the reign of Psamtik I, which proves that he was then in office.² His titles, such as *mr hmw-ntr jmn-r' nsut ntrw* (Overseer of Priests of Amun-Re, King of Gods), *mr šm'w* (Overseer of Upper Egypt), *mr niwt* (Overseer of the City), and *t3ty* (Vizier) show that in his day he was one of the greatest men of Thebes.³

The two best statues of Nespakashuty, now in the Cairo Museum, were found in the Karnak Cachette among a group of statues belonging to his family: a limestone, asymmetric squatting statue (JE 37000) and a graywacke squatting scribe statue with a wide striated wig (JE 36662).⁴ The second statue is one of the finest early Saite sculptures known.

Nespakashuty's tomb belongs to the group made for high Late Period Theban officials, the earliest of which dates to the latter part of the Kushite Twenty-fifth

Dynasty (ca. 712–664 B.C.), although construction continued throughout the Saite Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.). Nearly all these tombs lie in the Asasif necropolis, situated in a narrow desert plain that extends eastward from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri. Other Late Period tombs, mostly in a ruinous state, are dispersed over the Asasif necropolis to the south, and a few exceptional examples are cut into the limestone cliffs above.⁵ These tombs include the largest private monuments ever built in Egypt; all of them had elaborate plans and were richly decorated with relief carving. The tombs of Mentuemhat (TT 34), Petamenophis (TT 33), Ibi (TT 36), Basa (TT 389), and Pabasa (TT 279) are still preserved.

The private Theban tomb relief of the Saite period is a subject of great significance in the history of Egyptian art, as the Twenty-fifth and succeeding Twenty-sixth Dynasties are periods of great artistic innovation. The Saite Dynasty, establishing its own style of reliefs and sculpture, influenced Egyptian art until the end of the Pharaonic Period. An important aspect of this artistic renewal was a widespread and systematic reference to the art of the past, a phenomenon often called archaism. Archaism in seventh-century Egypt exhibits itself in many ways—from the revival of the ancient types of scenes and canon of proportions to the precise copying of small details from older monuments. This relationship to the past is often recognized, but the exact sources of inspiration are difficult to determine. The situation is more advantageous in the Asasif necropolis. Theban sculptors of the Late Period were deeply influenced by the well-preserved reliefs and paintings found in the New Kingdom tombs and mortuary temples situated nearby. One can sometimes recognize specific examples of copying, which helps in establishing the mechanisms by which earlier patterns were reinterpreted by Late Period sculptors.

Although the Late Period Theban tombs reflect characteristic features in the development of Saite art, they also exhibit a great variety of subjects and styles from one tomb to another, and even within a single tomb. The rise of archaism in the relief decoration of late

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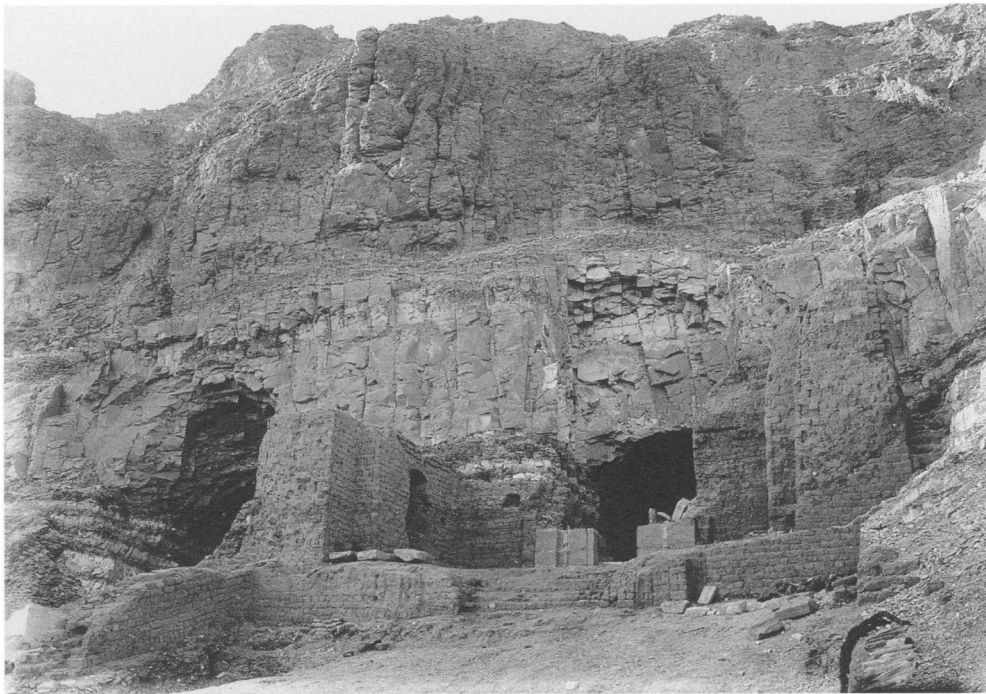


Figure 1. View onto the courtyard of Nespakashuty's tomb, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 205)

Asasif tombs is easily understood. The construction of funerary monuments and stone-relief carving had diminished substantially at Thebes during the preceding Third Intermediate Period, so there was no direct tradition for constructing and decorating tombs. Therefore the subject and style of the relief decoration depended on the taste and wishes of the tomb owner or of the sculptors he employed, which makes each Late Period

tomb a monument of unusual interest. Archaizing features are reflected in the decoration of the tomb of Nespakashuty, whose sculptors were obviously inspired not only by the Middle and New Kingdom Theban reliefs but also by the decoration of earlier Late Period Asasif tombs, including the tomb of Mentuemhat, some chapels of which had not yet been finished when the tomb of Nespakashuty was under construction.⁶



Figure 2. View of the pylon of Nespakashuty's tomb, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 47)



Figure 3. Entrance to the tomb, 1922-23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 49)

Nespakashuty's tomb was carved into the upper side of the cliff flanking the north side of the Asasif valley, whose primary functioning structure was still the causeway to the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Figure 1). The tomb is fitted into a row of much earlier tombs built for the high officials of the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties: Khety (MMA 508, TT 311), Henenu (MMA 313, TT 313), Ipi (MMA 516, TT 315), Meru (MMA 517, TT 240), and others. Between the tombs of the overseer of the seal Khety and the steward Henenu lies the tomb of Nespakashuty, which shares its entrance court with an early Middle Kingdom tomb (MMA 509), whose owner is unknown because no decoration or inscriptions survive (Figure 2). The court and the entrance are larger than those of Khety and Henenu, which allowed James Allen to suggest that tomb MMA 509 was intended for an official of equally high rank, perhaps the Vizier Bebi, whose tomb has not yet been found.⁷ Nespakashuty usurped an eastern portion of the court of the early Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 509 by cutting away the brick facade of the older tomb and building in its place a new mud-brick monumental pylon (thirteen meters wide) with arches. Sandstone slabs in sunk relief showing the seated Nespakashuty decorate the entrance (Figure 3), which leads to the ten-meter-long vaulted chapel that was richly decorated with reliefs carved in fine limestone (Figure 4). The relief decoration of the first chamber was never completed. The doorway on the north wall of the first chamber leads to a second chamber with six



Figure 4. The first chamber of the tomb as it was found by H. Winlock, 1922-23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 258)

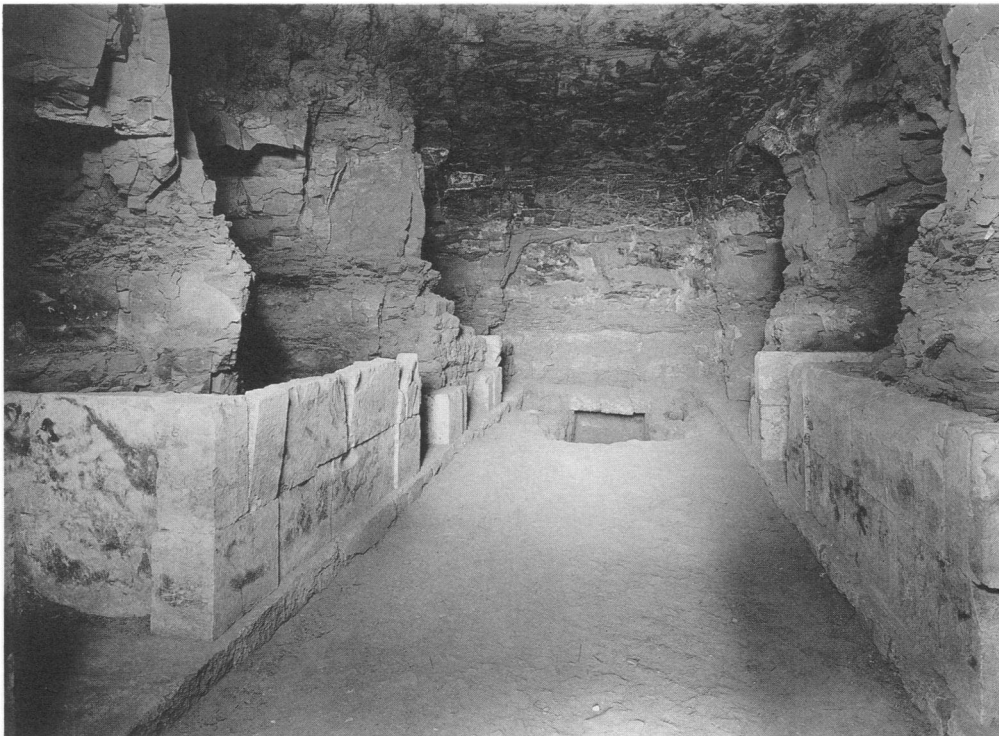


Figure 5. The second chamber of the tomb, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M7C 60)

side rooms, whose walls were lined with undecorated limestone slabs (Figure 5). Herbert Winlock suggested that there was a false door on the north wall of the second chamber.⁸ Three of the side rooms were left unfinished. A stairway leads to the three-room burial crypt below. As the tomb's plan (Figure 6) shows its clear resemblance to the Middle Kingdom tombs, it is possible to assume that Nespakashuty was impressed by them and ordered a similar one.⁹ Allen, however, has suggested another possibility: the ten-meter corridor forming the tomb's first chamber could have been cut initially for a family member or a dependent of the earlier Middle Kingdom tomb owner.¹⁰ If this is so, Nespakashuty would have reused a corridor carved during the late Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty.

The tomb's unfinished state and modest size suggest that Nespakashuty had a short career and died quite young. Yet the choice of location seems puzzling. The Asasif valley floor was the official Theban necropolis of the time, with the tomb of Harwa (TT 37) and the huge, glamorous tombs of Petamenophis (TT 33) and Mentuemhat (TT 34) already under way. Nevertheless, the tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty was placed on the side of the cliffs. Perhaps its location shows a special appreciation of the early Middle Kingdom.¹¹ The place that Nespakashuty chose for the tomb was the most desirable in the time of the reunification of Egypt after the First Intermediate Period because of the presence of the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II in the

valley of Deir el-Bahri.¹² The strong interest in early Middle Kingdom art that Nespakashuty's tomb demonstrates (see below) possibly reinforced his choice of burial in the old necropolis.¹³ Another possible explanation is that although members of Nespakashuty's family held the office of the vizier of Upper Egypt for a long period of time, neither his grandfather Nespakashuty C nor his father, Nespamedu, ever moved to Thebes. They chose to stay in Tanis in the Delta and were buried at Abydos, the traditional necropolis of Thinite nobles, where the tomb of Nespamedu (D. 57) is one of the most elaborate.¹⁴ It seems that Nespakashuty D, the fourth of this name (whose tomb is the subject of this article), was the first of that family to live in Thebes and be buried in the Theban Asasif necropolis. He may have meant to use the family cemetery in Abydos and changed his plans unexpectedly, which would explain the small size and unfinished state of his Theban tomb.¹⁵

EXCAVATION OF THE TOMB

The tomb of Nespakashuty was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition, led by H. E. Winlock in 1922–23.¹⁶ The records of the expedition—photographs, tomb cards, notes, drawings, and letters—are housed in the archives of the Depart-

ment of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum. Photographic documentation is a major archival source for work on tomb reconstruction, and, fortunately, Harry Burton registered every fragment found in or around the tomb in five-by-seven and seven-by-nine-inch glass-negative photographs. Prints of these photographs were mounted on boards, numbered, and labeled at the time of the tomb's excavation.

The majority of the relief fragments were drawn after excavation. Only a few drawings were executed in the original size of the pieces;¹⁷ most drawings were a 90 percent reduction, which explains why many details are missing. To provide accurate documentation in the present publication, some pieces were redrawn from the originals and some old drawings were corrected. Winlock's field records contain his first notes on the decoration of the tomb, precise measurements of the sandstone structure of the facade and brick pylon, and a description of the condition of the relief sculpture in situ. He found the facade reliefs badly shattered and noted that the relief decoration in the first chamber had fallen off the walls (see Figure 4). The probable explanation is in Winlock's 1923 notes: "There was a

tremendous fire in the burial crypt. . . . the heat of the internal fire seems to have roasted the entire structure of the upper chapel, turning the lime . . . pink and baking the limestone walls until they are extremely brittle. . . . The result of the baking of the chapel walls has been that most of the structure has been reduced to an infinite number of small chips."

From a letter that Winlock wrote on February 14, 1926, to Albert Lythgoe, the Museum's curator of Egyptian art, we know that the expedition collected 115 boxes of relief fragments from the tomb of Nespakashuty and that it took about three weeks to pack them. "In spite of all our care I am afraid that some of these baked pieces will be shattered, but I don't see how we could help it unless we spend four or five times as much time as we did. Many of the fragments actually fell to pieces as we lifted them; therefore, do be charitable when you see their condition." The fragments were allotted to the Metropolitan Museum by the Egyptian authorities in the partition of finds and were shipped to New York in 1926. The well-preserved decoration of the entrance remained in situ.

Winlock's records indicate that a number of objects,

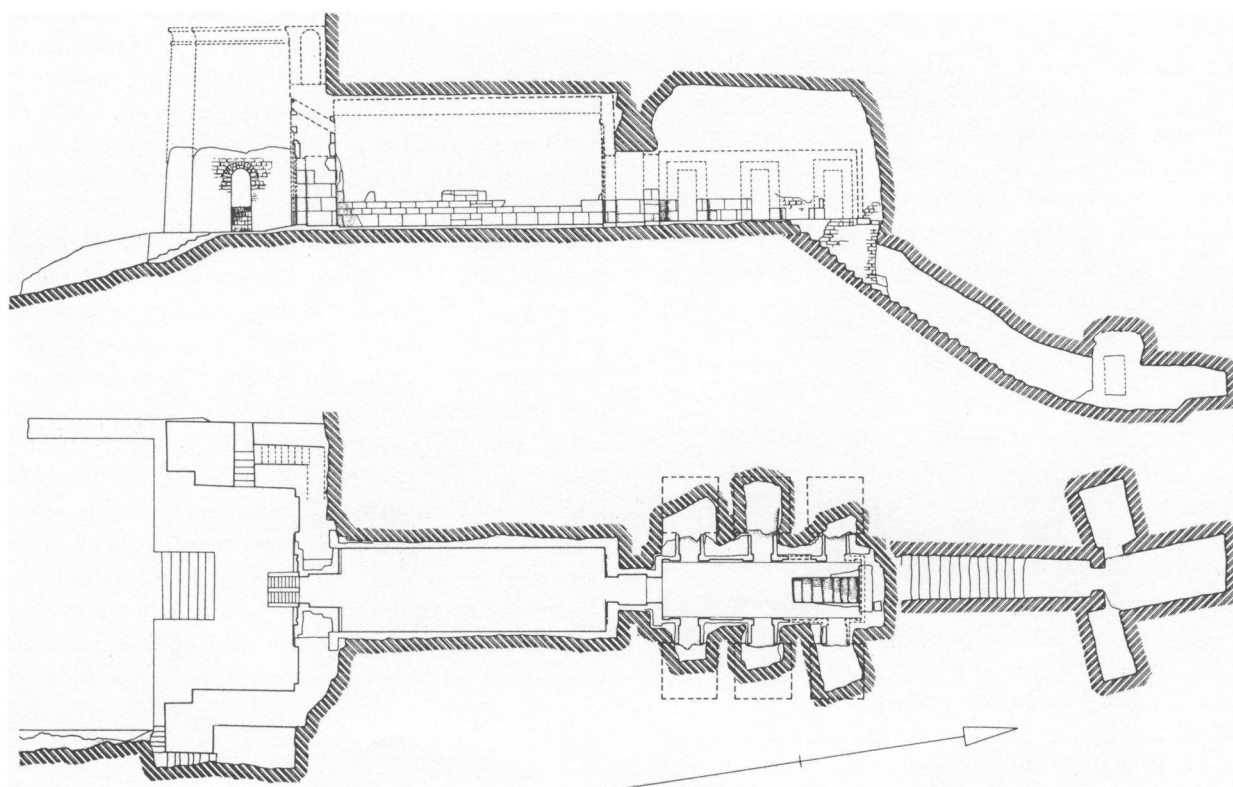


Figure 6. Plan of the tomb (drawing: Barry Girsh, after Lindsley F. Hall)

aside from the relief fragments, were found scattered loosely in the rubbish of the tomb's courtyard. Among them were fragments of Nespakashuty's outer coffin, artists' sketches on limestone chips, blue-faïence inlays, and much evidence of the reuse of the tomb as late as the Coptic Period.

NESPAKASHUTY'S RELIEFS IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS

About twenty years after the excavation of the tomb of Nespakashuty, an attempt was made to piece together the relief decoration from the tomb at the Metropolitan Museum. Photographs and drawings from the mid-1940s show that this study resulted only in re-creating parts of the original walls. Less than ten years later, the Museum decided to retain only one fairly complete part of the west wall and deaccessioned most of the other fragments to other institutions (see Appendix).

Today, one of the largest sections of the east and west walls are in American museums. The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns sixty-three large fragments from the northern part of the west wall, which were installed in 1976 in gallery 22, where the art of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is displayed.¹⁸ The wall section comprises three registers, with scenes of the procession of offering bearers in the bottom and third registers and an episode from Nespakashuty's funeral in the second register—the barge bearing his coffin being towed across the river to the necropolis on the west bank. The funeral barge is accompanied by female mourners on other barges. In addition to this large section, the Museum retained two hundred and fifty small fragments, some of which are no larger than five to seven centimeters. Almost all of them were omitted from the first attempted reconstruction.

The Brooklyn Museum of Art owns a central and southern section of the west wall, which is a continuation of the Metropolitan Museum portion. The Brooklyn portion also shows the remains of three registers: the procession of offering bearers in the bottom register, the Abydos Pilgrimage (a sacred journey to the city of Osiris, a god of the afterlife) in the second register, and offering bearers with the sacred oil in the third.¹⁹ A few blocks of the east wall, also now in Brooklyn, contain the remains of the offering bearers' procession in the bottom register and groups of male and female mourners in the second.²⁰

The northern part of the east wall, with the representation of the funerary procession, is at the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.²¹ The decorated northern door belongs to the Art Museum at Princeton

University.²² Many small fragments were acquired by other museums and private collectors (see Appendix).

DECORATIVE PROGRAM OF THE EAST AND WEST WALLS OF THE FIRST CHAMBER: HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION (CHART 1, PAGE 90)

The reconstruction of the east and west walls of the first chamber of Nespakashuty's tomb is a complicated task for several reasons: the collapsed relief decoration was found scrambled on the floor; the tomb had also been used as a quarry for millennia. Furthermore, a comparison of two sets of photographs—excavation photographs taken in Egypt and a set made twenty years after the arrival of the reliefs at the Museum—shows that not all fragments found by Winlock came to New York.²³ It is thus necessary to consider fragments that at present are available only in Winlock's photographs. The photographs also document that some small Nespakashuty fragments that were deaccessioned by the Museum may be in private collections. Three fragments of the latter group were recently reacquired by the Metropolitan Museum (see Appendix). A thorough study of all available fragments has made it possible for us to add more pieces to the unpublished reconstruction made in the 1940s and to reexamine it. The main goal of this article, however, is to provide a better understanding of the iconography and style of the Nespakashuty tomb relief decoration based on selected scenes.

Yet another problem is the unfinished condition of the tomb reliefs. Some blocks present only preliminary drawings of figures and inscriptions; others have roughly carved outlines. Only a few of the fragments are completely finished reliefs, but their surface and interior details are clearly treated with great skill. The hard, compact limestone allowed crisp cutting and precise carving of details. The Theban creamy white limestone of which they were carved has an uneven concentration of iron oxides, which gives variable hues of pink to different slabs (contra Winlock cited above). Some fragments are not only of an intensive pink coloration but also have ruddy spots of rich color; these localized patches can be easily confused with the remains of paint marks.²⁴

East wall

The east wall of the first chamber, which had been almost completed, is in better condition than the west wall. The east wall consists of eight registers. The bot-

tom register shows a procession of male and female offering bearers carrying offerings on their heads. The second register shows a funerary procession, rituals in front of a mummy, and the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The third register depicts a slaughtering scene and a procession of male offering bearers with meat and fowl. The whole northern area of the upper part of the wall was occupied by a large-scale figure of Nespakashuty sitting on a chair in front of the offering table, an offering list, and offering rituals. Two sub-registers to the right show a procession of male offering bearers. Three top registers depict large-scale offerings.

West wall

The reconstruction of the west wall is complicated mostly because of its unfinished condition. The 1940s reconstruction of the wall was partly inaccurate because the ancient preliminary drawings on some blocks and photographs of missing fragments were ignored, leaving the northern part of the wall almost empty. Two photographs from the Winlock archive give important clues to the original composition of reliefs on the west wall.²⁵ One photograph shows an ancient drawing of the shoulder of a large male figure and a section of his necklace, as well as a register border behind him. The other shows a drawing of part of large-scale legs. These drawings are the only preserved remains of the large figure of the tomb owner that occupied the northern end of the west wall, which leads us to assume that the northern portions of the west-wall decoration constitute a mirror image of the east-wall representation of the seated tomb owner. The representation of this figure on the west wall remained unfinished because the whole northern section of the wall reached only the drawing stage. Excavation photographs also show the remnants of the drawings of the inscriptions that belong to the offering list and of a priest kneeling in front of an altar, a figure that is usually part of the offering composition placed below the offering list.²⁶ These drawings are clear evidence that the tomb owner was originally depicted sitting in front of the offering table with an offering list to the left and a scene of the offering rituals below.

The program of the decoration of the west wall was most likely similar to that of the east wall and probably consisted of eight registers. The bottom register shows a procession of the female and male bearers carrying offerings on their heads. The second register shows the Abydos Pilgrimage, the towing of the barge with the sarcophagus to the west bank of the Nile, and the beginning of the funerary procession. The third register shows the offering bearers bringing clothes, sacred

oil, fowl, and meat. In the northern area of the upper part of the west wall was the representation of the large figure of the tomb owner sitting in front of the offering list with the offering rituals below. The sub-registers showed the procession of offering bearers with animals and large-scale offerings, all preserved in fragmentary condition.

It can be concluded that the relief decoration of the east and west walls of the first chamber in the tomb of Nespakashuty consisted of three major subjects: the representation of the tomb owner, offering rituals, and funerary scenes.

MAJOR SCENES IN THE FIRST CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF NESPAKASHUTY

REPRESENTATIONS OF NESPAKASHUTY

Fragments

1. The Art Museum, Princeton University, 50-127 (EP 1);²⁷
2. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. nos. M4C 262, 269, 292.

Description of the reconstructed scenes

Four relief fragments and two drawings belonging to two identical representations of Nespakashuty on the northern parts of the east and west walls of the first chamber survive. The carved fragments belong to the east wall, where his figure appeared to be finished. They show a section of chest and a hand holding a folded cloth, the elbow of a near arm, calves of two legs, and the bottom part of a chair's leg (Figure 7). Two ancient drawings belong to an unfinished figure of Nespakashuty on the west wall. Only the near shoulder and the calves of the legs are preserved (Figure 11). This incomplete material allows only a hypothetical reconstruction of his figure.

In both representations Nespakashuty is facing outward toward the offering list. He sits on a lion-legged chair and holds a folded cloth in the hand of his bent far arm. The near arm stretches toward the offering table (Figures 8-10). The head has not been preserved, but we can assume that he had a short or shoulder-length wig because there are no traces of the wig's lower edges on the shoulders. Nespakashuty wears a collar necklace and a double amulet. The remains of his garment also show that he wore a pelt vestment tied with an elaborate knot on his left shoulder. The ends of the straps forming the knot hang free over the necklace.

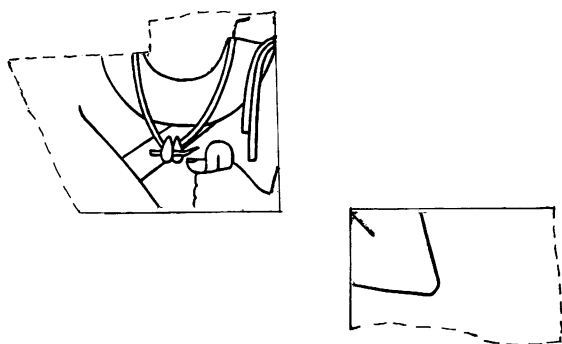


Figure 7. Reconstruction of the figure of Nespakashuty from the north part of the east wall (drawing: Jo Wood, after Lindsley F. Hall)

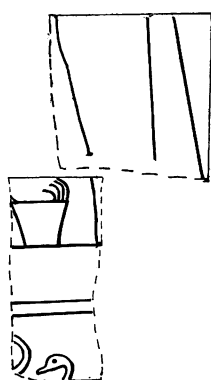


Figure 8. Relief fragment showing a leg of Nespakashuty's throne, 1922-23. The Art Museum, Princeton University, 50-127 (EP 1) (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 292)



Figure 9. Relief fragment showing Nespakashuty's chest and one hand, 1922-23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 262)



Figure 10. Relief fragment showing calves of Nespakashuty's legs, 1922-23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 269)

Similar representations of a tomb owner wearing a pelt vestment have been known since the Third and Fourth Dynasties.²⁸ Nevertheless, Nespakashuty's image was most probably not derived from the Old Kingdom prototypes but was inspired by the corresponding contemporary images from the Asasif tombs of Mentuemhat²⁹ and Petamenophis.³⁰ On the relief from chapel C in situ and on the relief fragment at the Yale University Art Gallery, Mentuemhat is shown wearing a bag wig, a broad collar, a pelt vestment with a shoulder knot, and a double amulet. He holds a folded cloth in his near hand and both arms are outstretched toward the offering table. On the relief from the first court of his Asasif tomb he holds staffs in both hands. The representation of Mentuemhat could well have been copied for Nespakashuty, although a pose of Petamenophis with the far arm holding a folded cloth in front of the chest is closer to Nespakashuty.³¹ It is possible that all of these roughly contemporaneous images had a common source, such as a pattern book.

The relief representations of Petamenophis and Mentuemhat provide help in the reconstruction of Nespakashuty's figure. Most likely, Nespakashuty sat on a chair with a short back support and wore a long kilt and a pelt vestment supported on his shoulder with an overlong, elaborate shoulder knot. It is probable that Nespakashuty's pelt vestment is similar to an iconographic version shown in the tomb of Mentuemhat,³² as all later representations of tomb owners in the Asasif necropolis followed that of Mentuemhat.³³ One of the pronounced innovations in Mentuemhat's iconography is a transformation of the Old Kingdom narrow cloak edge into a wide chest band. The Old Kingdom edge ended with stripes forming a short knot that supports the cloak on the shoulder,³⁴ but during the Late Period the shoulder knot appears to have lost its practical function.³⁵ The knot became so long that it covered almost the whole shoulder and was obviously understood as a decorative element of the garment.³⁶ The long shoulder knot may be considered one of the hallmarks of the late Kushite–early Saite private relief style.³⁷ Another defining feature of this version of pelt vestment found in private tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties is the position of the paw lying on the shoulder of the tomb owner.³⁸ On Old Kingdom representations the paw hangs down, forming a kind of short sleeve.³⁹

The existence of a pronounced Late Period tradition in the representation of the figure of a seated tomb owner makes it possible for us to reconstruct the figure of Nespakashuty quite accurately, despite its

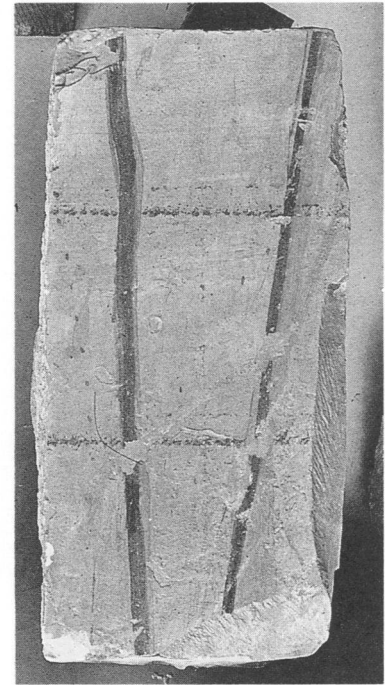
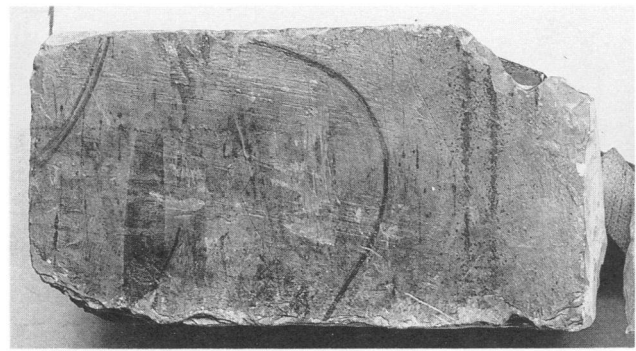


Figure 11. Two fragments of the figure of Nespakashuty from the north part of the west wall, (photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 1948, neg. no. 140136)

fragmentary condition. This reconstruction is also supported by the better-preserved representations of Nespakashuty on the doorjambs of the facade⁴⁰ (Figures 12, 13). He is shown there wearing a bag wig, pelt vestment, and a short kilt, with his far arm bent in front of the chest.

OFFERING LIST AND OFFERING RITUALS

Fragments

1. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 22.132, 22.329, 22.331;
2. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, OIM 18236;



Figure 12. Left doorjamb of the tomb in situ, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M7C 52)

3. The Denver Art Museum, 1949.7;
4. Columbia University, New York, COO. 1699. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 3a, 3b;
5. MMA, 23.3.468, 1997.137.4;
6. The Art Museum, Princeton University, 50–127 (EP 2–6);
7. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. nos. M4C 262, 263, 264, 269, 285, 286, 291, 293, 294, 297, 298, 301, 302, 308, 311, 324;
8. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1993.55.

Description of the reconstructed scenes

The northern sections of the east and west walls in front of the seated figure of Nespakashuty are decorated with the representations of offering lists and offering rituals: a priest making libation, three kneeling priests, a priest sweeping out the footprints (a ritual called “bringing the foot”), three sub-registers with a procession of male offering bearers related to the offering list, and three subregisters with representations of large-scale offerings (Figure 16). Preserved fragments of the east wall show that the scene was completely finished. The parallel composition on the west wall was never completed and has survived only in a fragmentary condition.



Figure 13. Right doorjamb of the tomb in situ, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M7C 55)

This kind of offering scene has been known since the Old Kingdom⁴¹ and was frequently represented in New Kingdom tombs.⁴² The tradition was continued in the Late Period Asasif tombs of Mentuemhat,⁴³ Petamenophis,⁴⁴ Pabasa,⁴⁵ Basa,⁴⁶ and Ibi.⁴⁷

Although the depiction of the seated Nespakashuty may well have been inspired by reliefs from Mentuemhat's tomb (see "Representations of Nespakashuty"), the rest of the composition appears to have had another source of inspiration. What is left of the offering list and the procession of offering bearers shows that the whole scene is an almost direct replica of the northern wall of the Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁸ The strong similarity between the Nespakashuty and Hatshepsut scenes is significant: in most cases, we can only suggest possible prototypes for Late Period reliefs. It is usually impossible to pinpoint the exact source of a traditional composition. Sometimes the source is lost or has not yet been found, which is why direct imitations of earlier models are particularly thought-provoking.

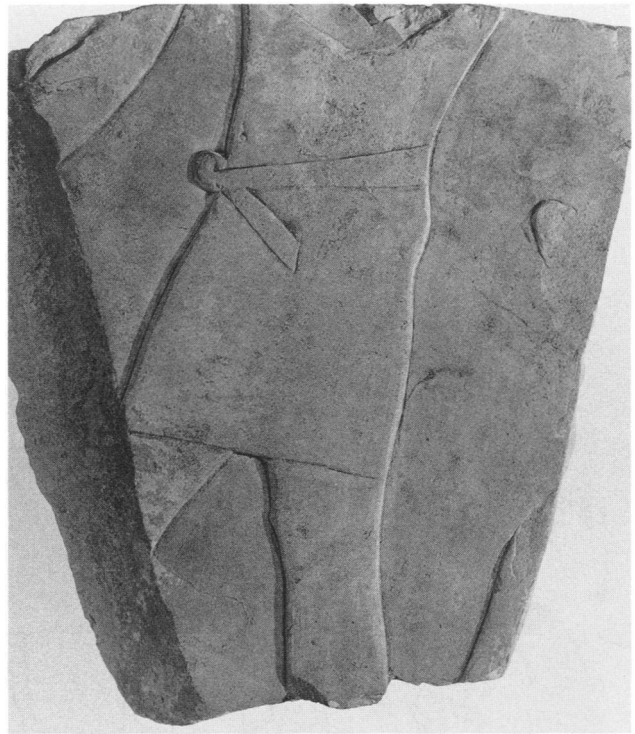


Figure 14. Relief fragment showing part of the figure of a male offering bearer in a short kilt. East wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)



Figure 15. Relief fragment showing two offering bearers in plain short wigs. East wall. The Denver Art Museum, 1949.7

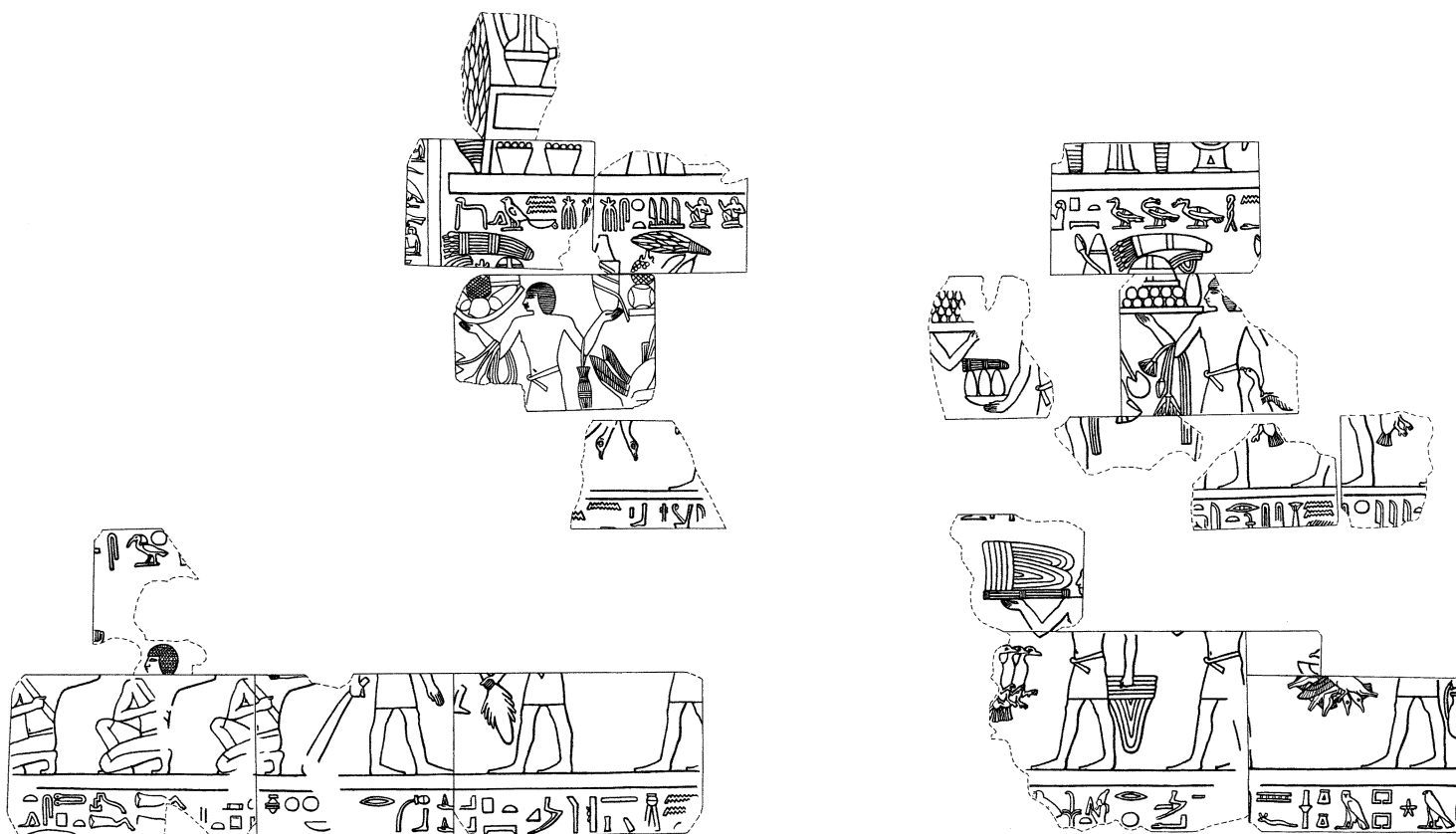


Figure 16a. Reconstruction of the middle part of the east wall of the tomb of Nespakashuty showing a procession of offering bearers (drawing: Jo Wood, and Jo Wood after Lindsley F. Hall)

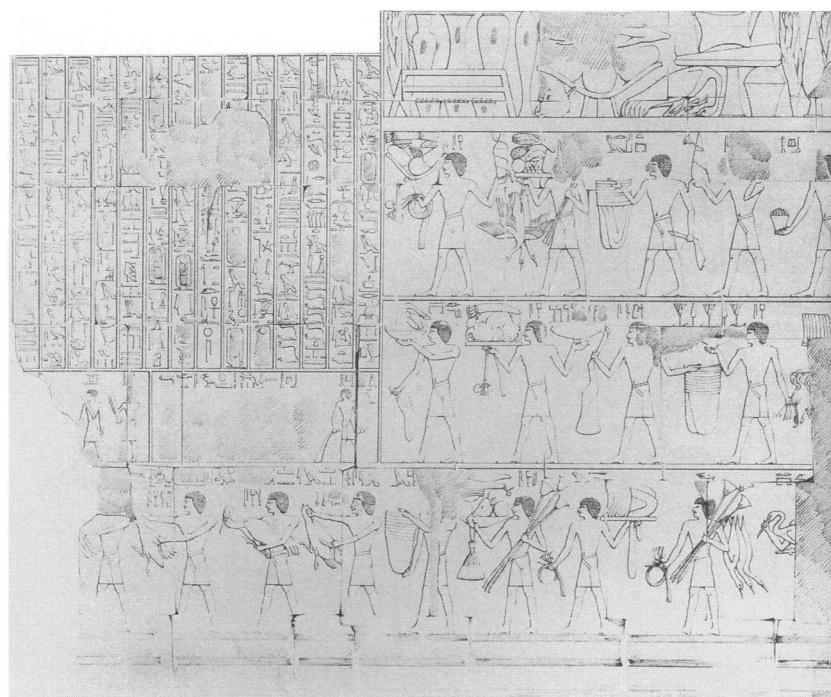
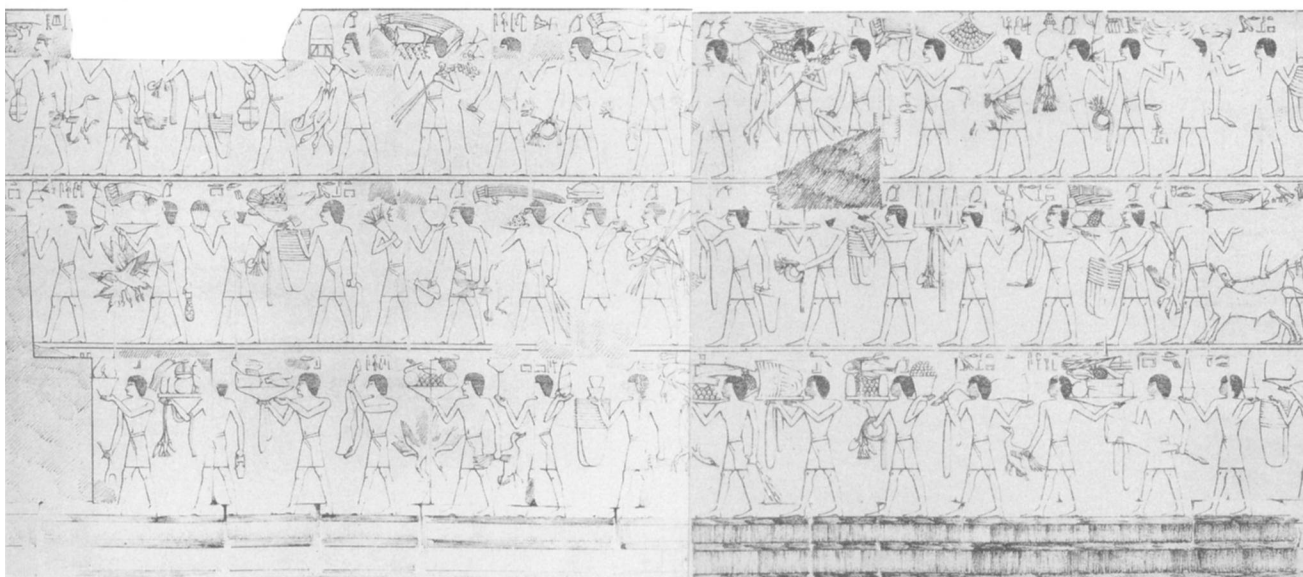
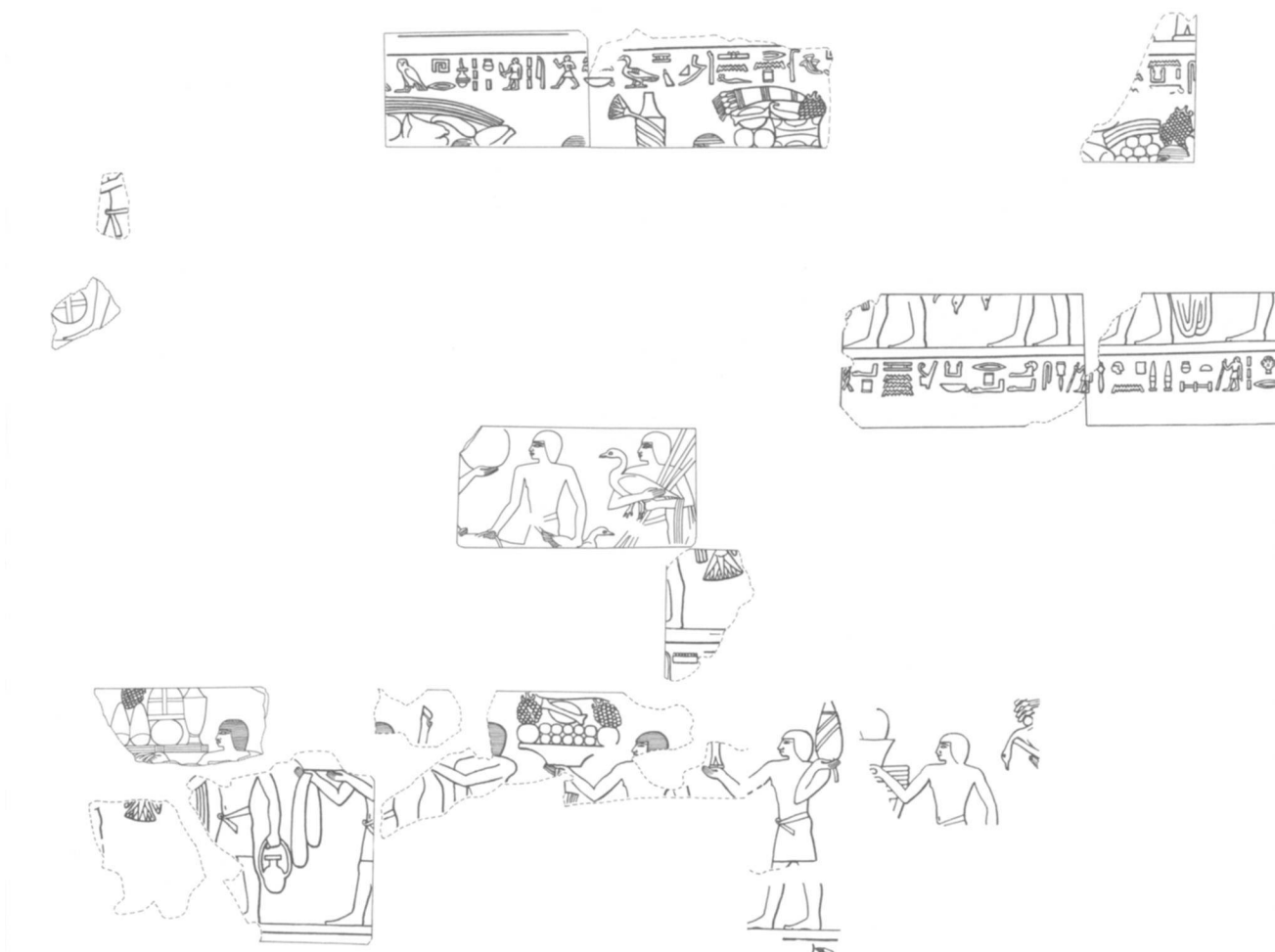
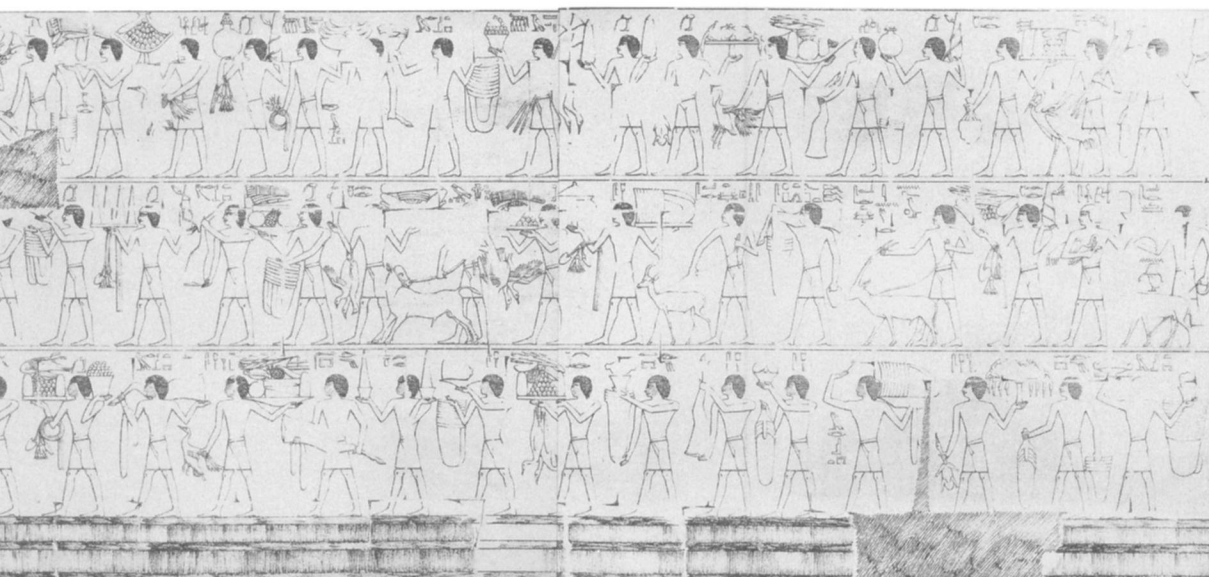
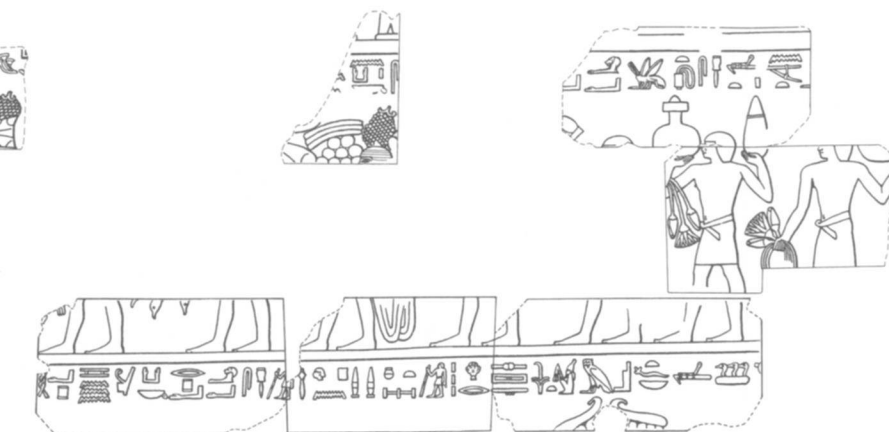


Figure 16b. Middle part of the north wall in the Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (from E. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahri* IV [London, 1901] pls. 61, 62)





17

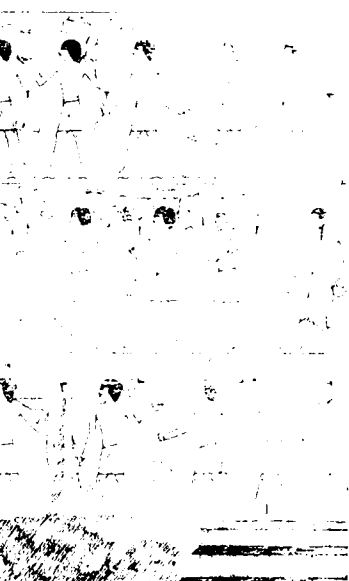
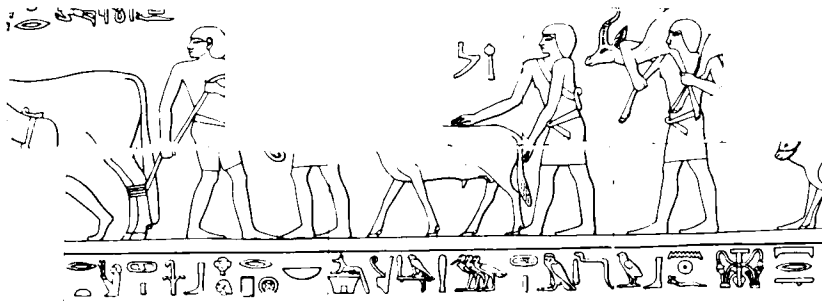
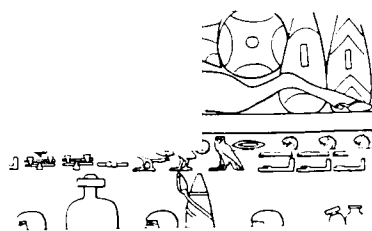




Figure 17. Relief fragment showing two offering bearers in horizontally striated wigs. East wall. New York, Columbia University, COO. 1699. 1a, 1b, 1c (photo: Bill Barrette)



Figure 18. Relief fragment showing the head of a priest in curly wig. East wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

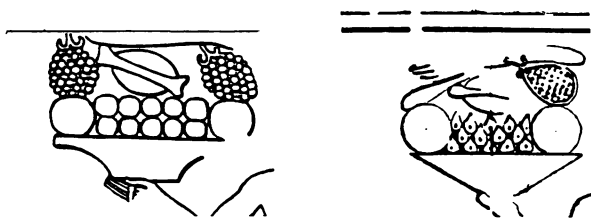


Figure 19. A bowl with offerings from the east wall of Nesapakashuty's tomb (drawing: Jo Wood, after Lindsley F. Hall) and a bowl with offerings from the north wall in the Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (from Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 62)

Specific features

The Hatshepsut scene was clearly the source for the figures of the Nesapakashuty male offering bearers and the objects they carry. However, a comparison of the Late Period replica to the Eighteenth Dynasty original shows how Saite sculptors reworked the prototype to create a new style. On the one hand, the proportions were changed. Nesapakashuty's figures are squat and shorter, and their waists are heavier than those of the New Kingdom models. This shows a greater affinity with Old Kingdom proportions. Nesapakashuty's changed proportions reflect a general tendency of the late Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the body treatment reflects Hatshepsut's style of the early Eighteenth Dynasty: the torsos, arms, and legs are executed in low relief; the surface is flat, almost without modeling, and only the knees are indicated. The small details also differ from the original. The kilt worn by Hatshepsut's offering bearers has been changed in Nesapakashuty's reliefs: instead of the New Kingdom type with a wrapped flap, the Old Kingdom kilt with a knot and a free-hanging belt end was chosen to be represented (Figure 14).⁵⁰ This type of kilt could have been derived directly from Old Kingdom proto-

types; more probably, it was copied from the tomb of Harwa (TT 37), the first Late Period tomb in the Asasif, in which the relief decoration showed the influence of Old Kingdom prototypes.⁵¹ The Late Period version of the Old Kingdom kilt is, however, slightly different: the free-hanging belt end goes behind the knot instead of in front of the knot, as in the Old Kingdom.

Instead of the universally seen short curly wig worn by Hatshepsut's offering bearers, the Nespakashuty reliefs show at least four different types of wigs: short plain, horizontally stepped, horizontally stepped with straight locks on the top and—the most elaborate one—a stepped, curly wig with straight locks on the top (Figures 15, 17, 18, 47).

The representation of the offerings is additional evidence of a new Saite style. All the offerings in the Nespakashuty reliefs are carved with great care and with a strong tendency to leave more space around each object and to depict them larger than those of the New Kingdom. Most of the offerings are at least twice as large as their prototypes. Late Period groups of objects are arranged with more completeness and symmetry. In Figure 19 one can see the basket with offerings carried by a bearer in the middle of the third register of the Hatshepsut temple offering composition and its counterpart in the tomb of Nespakashuty. The New Kingdom basket has a conical shape and its offerings consist of figs, two pieces of fruit of conventional form, small pieces of meat, bunches of grapes, and a melon covered with some onion. Nespakashuty's artist gave the basket a trapezoidal shape with a flat bottom. He kept most of the offerings but arranged them in geometrical order: the figs are rounded so that they form two straight rows between large pieces of round fruit; the melon has been replaced by a second bunch

of grapes; and two bunches of symmetrically placed grapes form the support for the onion, which now lies horizontally.

In spite of the compositional and stylistic differences, the strong iconographical similarity between the Hatshepsut and Nespakashuty offering scenes is extremely helpful for the placement of some dispersed reliefs from Nespakashuty's tomb. Three fragments now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (22.329, 22.331, 22.132) were even assigned by G. Steindorff to the Eighteenth Dynasty⁵² (see their description in the Appendix). The fragment number 22.331 was registered by Winlock and shown in his excavation photograph (Figure 20).⁵³ The position of its counterpart at the end of the middle subregister of the Hatshepsut offering composition shows the possible location of this fragment in the Nespakashuty scene.⁵⁴ Relief number 22.329, although not recorded by Winlock, joins two small fragments shown in another of his excavation photographs (Figure 21).⁵⁵ The offering bearer's reconstructed figure has a direct parallel in the Hatshepsut temple.⁵⁶ It must be placed in the same position as its counterpart: in the fourth register to the right of the offering list under the bottom row of the large-scale offerings.⁵⁷

SLAUGHTERING SCENE

Fragments

1. MMA, 23.3.468 (EP 4, 5);
2. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. nos. M4C 319, 283, 321.

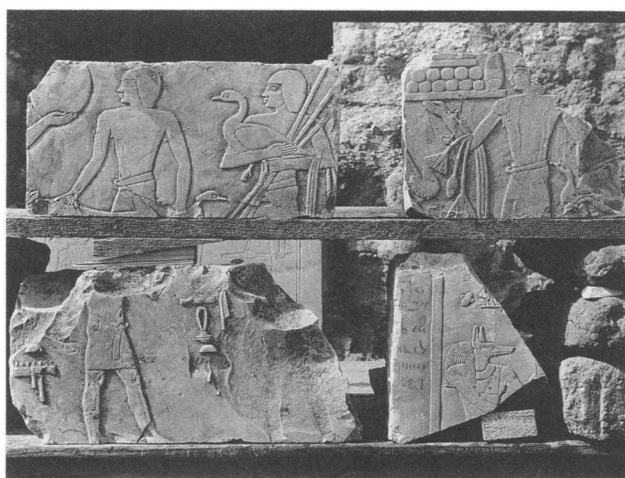


Figure 20. Four reliefs from Nespakashuty's tomb, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 301)



Figure 21. Four reliefs from the tomb, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 294)

Figure 22. Relief fragment showing two workmen slaughtering a bull, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 283)

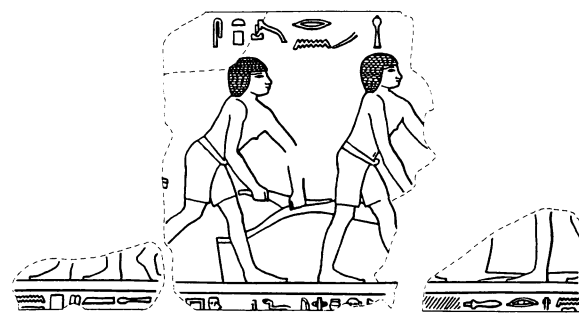


Figure 23b. Reconstruction of the slaughtering scene from the east wall of the tomb of Nespakashuty (drawing: Jo Wood, and Jo Wood after Lindsley F. Hall)

Description of the reconstructed scenes

Thirteen preserved fragments show four groups of butchers binding sacrificial animals with a long rope and cutting parts for offerings (Figure 23b). The men wear short kilts and short curly wigs with straight locks on the top. As far as we can now perceive, four bulls were represented, three bulls lying on their backs and one on its stomach.

Iconographic and stylistic sources

The slaughtering scene that formed part of the bottom register of a large offering composition was partially inspired by an equivalent scene on the east wall of the

Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's temple (Figure 23a).⁵⁸ A similar scene in the tomb of Mentuemhat was also based on the Hatshepsut prototype, but Nespakashuty's scene is evidently closer to the Eighteenth-Dynasty reliefs.⁵⁹ The Mentuemhat and Nespakashuty artists used different parts of Hatshepsut's composition, which clearly indicates that the Nespakashuty sculptors copied directly from Deir el-Bahri reliefs and did not receive inspiration from the Mentuemhat artists. In Nespakashuty's tomb, butchers are shown in the process of binding the bulls with a rope, a replica of two groups of workmen that form the left end of two bottom registers in Hatshepsut's temple. Mentuemhat's sculptors copied

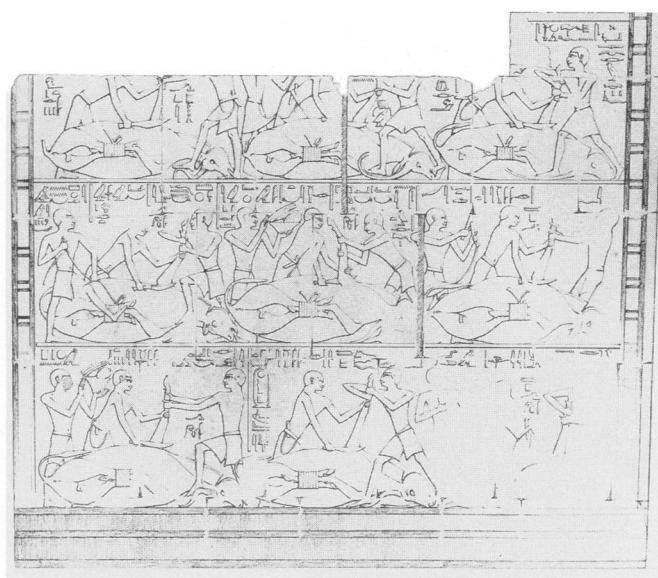
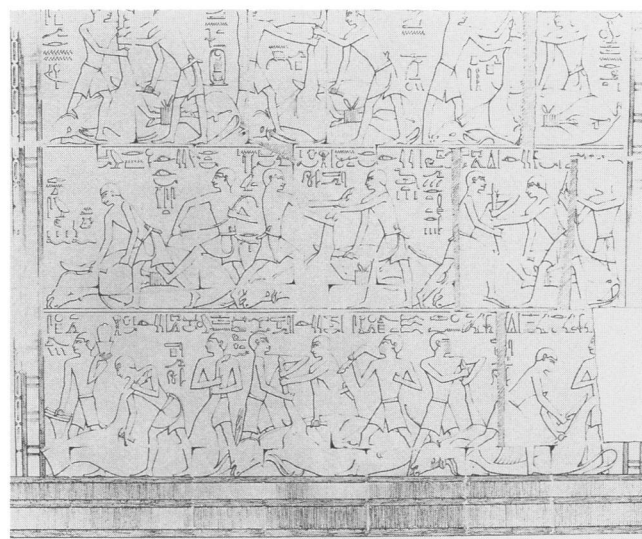


Figure 23a. Slaughtering scene on the east wall in the Southern Hall of Offerings in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (from Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari IV*, pl. 57)

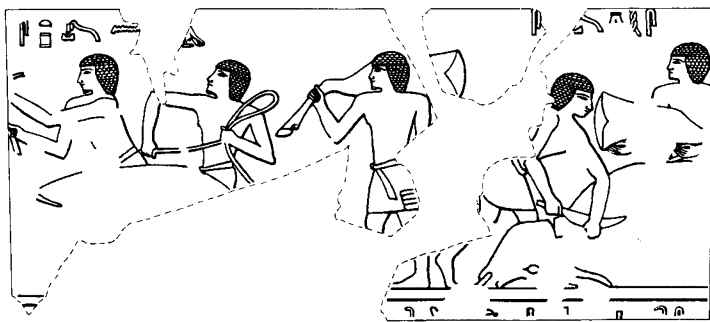


Figure 24. Relief fragment showing two workmen slaughtering a bull, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 321)

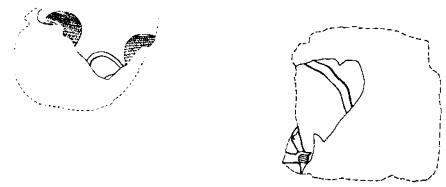
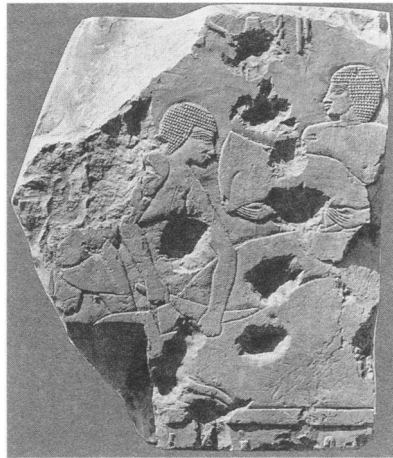


Figure 25. Relief fragment showing remains of the figures of two workmen. East wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

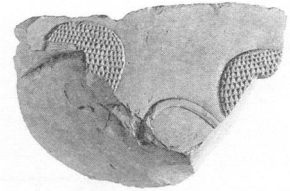


Figure 26. Relief fragment showing the hand of a workman holding a bull's leg. East wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)



the groups of workmen slaughtering bound bulls shown in the middle of three of the bottom registers of Hatshepsut's temple.

These two compositions reflect two different iconographic versions of a traditional slaughtering scene in Egyptian art: Mentuemhat's illustrates the pure New Kingdom tradition;⁶⁰ Nespakashuty's is based on the Old and Middle Kingdom iconography reflected in Hatshepsut's temple.⁶¹ It is possible that Nespakashuty's choice was reinforced by the influence of the early Middle Kingdom monuments in the immediate neighborhood.⁶² Following the early Middle Kingdom tradition, Nespakashuty's third group of butchers includes a workman approaching a bull from the side of its head and cutting its neck.

The first group from the left is closest to Hatshepsut's relief version, but the bull's front leg is shown half its normal size and without a hoof, a detail reflecting

Middle Kingdom tradition. The fourth, less well preserved group is a libation scene in which water is poured directly on a bull's cut throat (Figures 25, 26).⁶³ The most unusual part of the scene is the second group, in which a bull is shown on its stomach; this iconography is uncommon in New Kingdom art but was popular at Meir and Bersha during the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁴ Nespakashuty's composition, combining a few different iconographic versions, could have influenced the sculptors working later in the tomb of Basa in the Asasif. According to the remains of Basa's relief decoration, the slaughtering scene was copied from Nespakashuty's tomb.⁶⁵ At least two sculptors worked on this scene in Nespakashuty's tomb: the first and second groups show a graphic style with sharp lines and heavy modeling (Figure 22), while the third group was produced in lower relief with a more elegant line and less modeling (Figure 24).

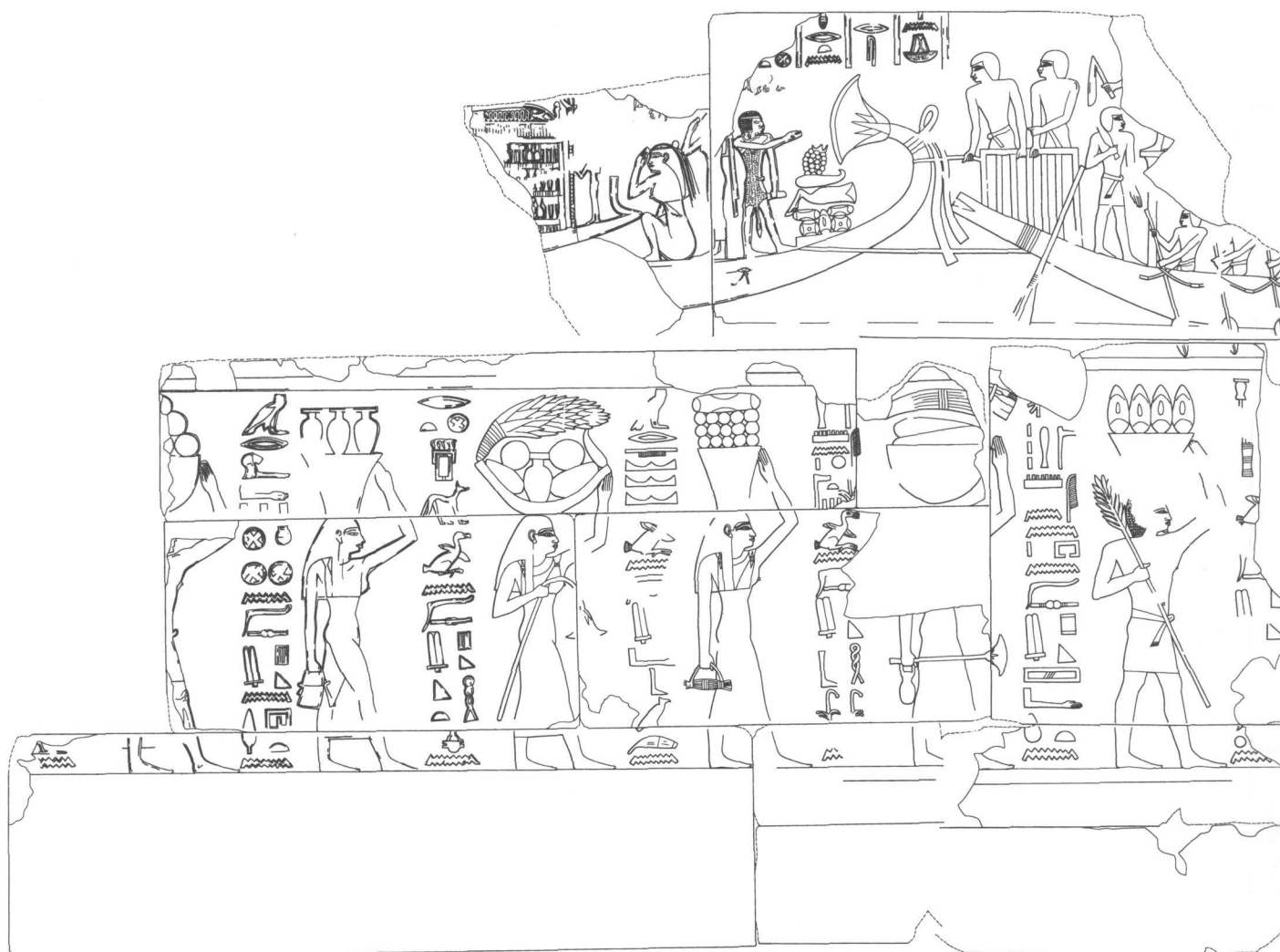
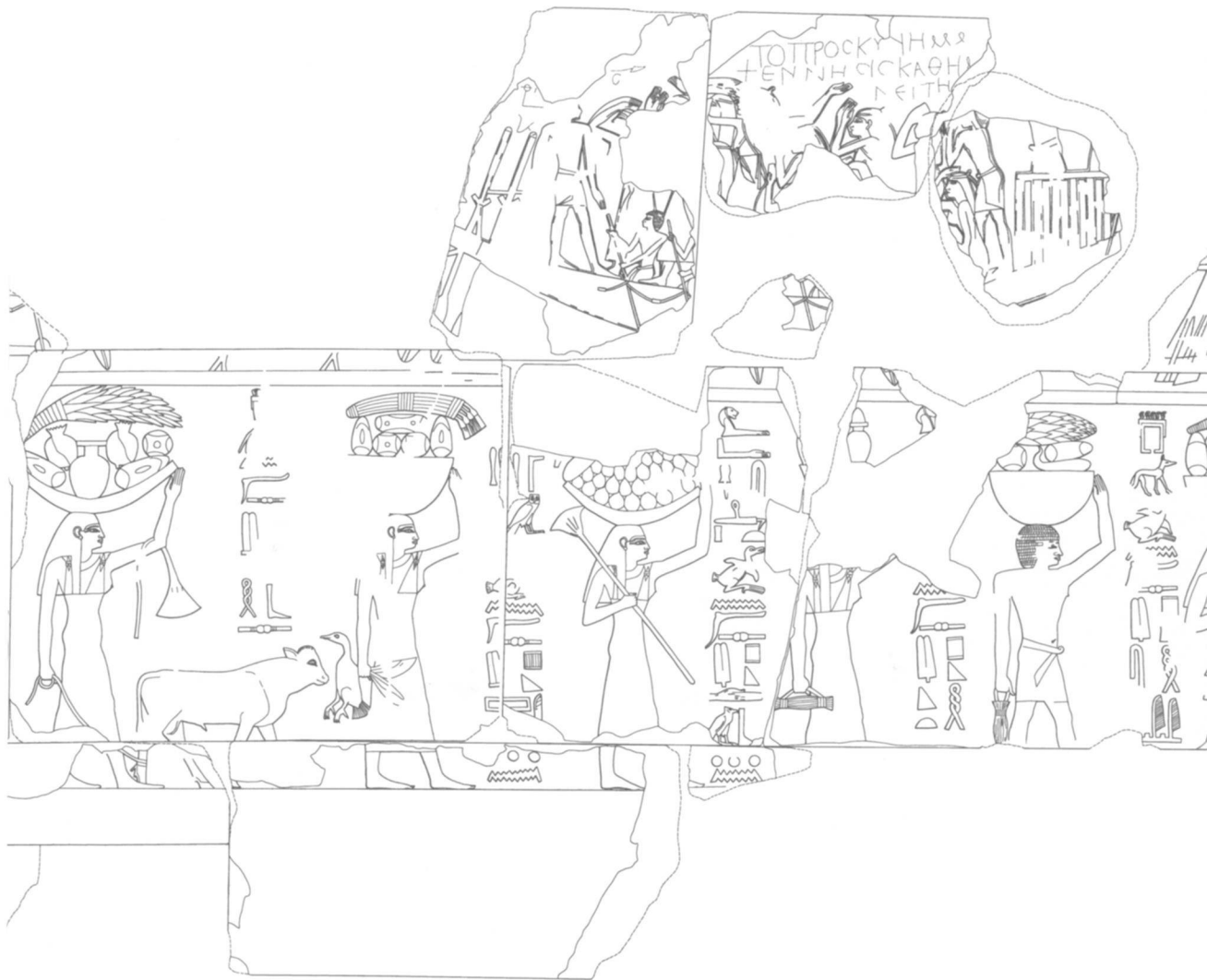


Figure 27. Reconstruction of the procession of offering bearers and funeral rituals from the west wall of the tomb of Nespakashuty (drawing: Jo Wood)





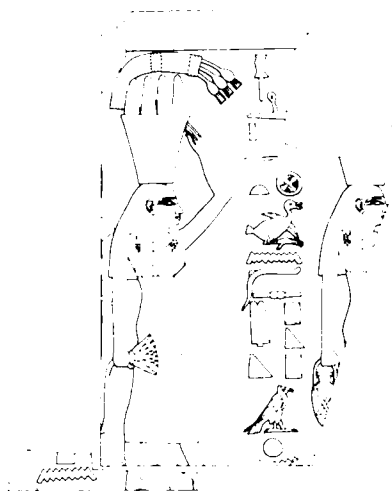
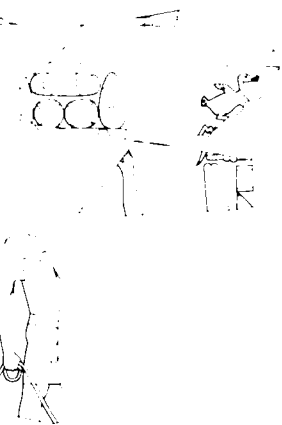




Figure 28. Procession of offering bearers. West wall, 1922–23. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52. 131.8, 9, 14 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. KKK)

PROCESSIONS OF OFFERING BEARERS IN THE BOTTOM REGISTERS OF THE EAST AND WEST WALLS

Fragments

1. MMA, 23.3.468, 23.3.468 (EP 2, 3) 1997.137.6;
2. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, OIM 18236;
3. Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York 52.131.1–32 and 68.1;
4. The Art Museum, Princeton University, 50–127 (EP 5, 7);
5. The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge E.GA.3001.1943.

Description of the reconstructed scenes

Male and female offering bearers were depicted in the bottom registers of the east and west walls in the first chamber of Nespakashuty's tomb (Figure 27). Both compositions are preserved only in fragments. The southern part of the procession on the west wall was left unfinished in preliminary drawings or carved only around the outlines of the figures. All the offering bearers carry offerings on their heads, and some lead animals. The men wear short kilts and short curly wigs. The women wear traditional plain tripartite wigs, plain-collar necklaces, and long tight-fitting ankle-length dresses with straps that form a trapezoidal neckline.



Figure 29. Relief fragment showing the unfinished figure of a female offering bearer. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)



Figure 30. Relief fragment showing two figures of female offering bearers. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

The dresses are supported on the shoulders by knotted shoulder straps.⁶⁶ A short inscription in front of each figure lists the offerings and Nespakashuty's titles and name.

Iconographic and stylistic sources

The offering bearers in both scenes are depicted in the traditional manner of estate personifications.⁶⁷ This type of composition is found as early as the Fourth Dynasty and first appeared in royal complexes.⁶⁸ Despite its general similarity to Old Kingdom prototypes, this part of the tomb's decoration could have been inspired by a corresponding composition in Mentuemhat's tomb, nine fragments of which are preserved.⁶⁹ In contrast to Mentuemhat's, Nespakashuty's composition shows both female and male offering bearers (Figure 28).⁷⁰ Nevertheless, two features of the scene provide clear evidence that the composition was copied from Mentuemhat's tomb.

First, female offering bearers are depicted with the near leg forward crossing in front of the far leg (Figure 29).⁷¹ Representation of the near leg forward is not attested in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty tombs in Thebes.⁷² This feature first appears in the tomb of Mentuemhat, then in the tomb of Nespakashuty, and later in several other Late Period Asasif tombs. The second significant

feature is the presence of strap knots on the female dresses (Figure 30). In the Old Kingdom, knots of this type appeared mostly in royal complexes on the garments of fecundity figures and estate personifications or as a feature of royal and divine garments.⁷³ To the best of my knowledge, the earliest representation of this strap knot appears on Narmer's garment on his famous palette.⁷⁴ But figures personifying estates in the Old Kingdom private tombs usually wear dresses with flat, smooth straps without knots.⁷⁵ After a long interval this knot reappears as an archaizing feature in Third Intermediate Period reliefs, again mostly on royal and divine garments and occasionally on dresses worn by private women.⁷⁶ The first representation of the strap knot on the garment of offering bearers in a private tomb is found in that of Mentuemhat. This feature became part of the Late Period Theban necropolis tradition and, starting with Nespakashuty, was repeated in every Asasif tomb.⁷⁷ It seems likely that this particular feature of subsidiary figures' garments in private tombs was inspired not by Old Kingdom royal reliefs but by a local Theban tradition of Third Intermediate Period royal art.

Specific features

Although most probably inspired by a scene from the tomb of Mentuemhat, the version in Nespakashuty's tomb shows some unusual features of its own. What is



Figure 31. Section of the east wall showing three figures of offering bearers and female mourners. East wall. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.3, 24, 25 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. BBB)



Figure 32. Relief fragment showing two figures of female offering bearers. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997, 1997.137.6 (photo: Bill Barrette)

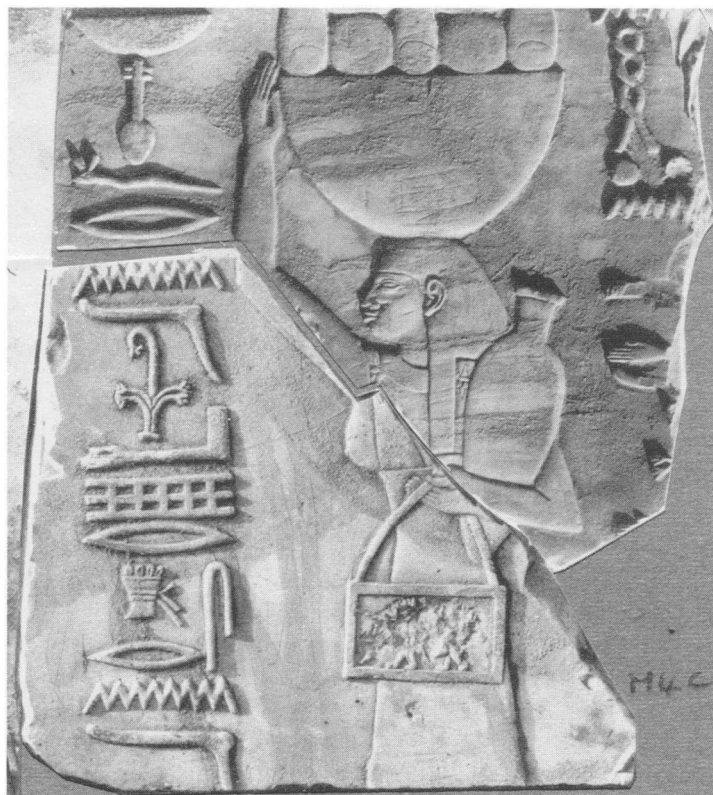


Figure 33. Relief fragment showing an offering bearer with a hedgehog. East wall, 1922–23. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, 18236 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 259)

quite extraordinary in this type of composition is an image of a female offering bearer who balances offerings not on her head but on both shoulders using both arms to hold the offerings in place (Figure 31).⁷⁸ This positioning of a large jar is very unusual in Egyptian art. To my knowledge, there are no parallels to this figure among earlier representations of offering bearers: the usual Egyptian position for the offerings is on one shoulder.⁷⁹ The positioning of offerings on both shoulders is found only in Eighteenth-Dynasty representations of foreigners bringing tribute.⁸⁰ The possibility that such figures of foreigners were used as prototypes for the Nespakashuty representation is given further weight by another unusual feature visible in the remains of the female mourners in the second register of the same fragment. The mourners wear wrap-around, calf-length skirts instead of the traditional pleated dresses or long skirts supported by belts with fringed ends. A similar wraparound garment appears on foreigners in the New Kingdom tomb decoration.⁸¹ It may have a Canaanite origin⁸² (see “Funerary Rituals and Procession,” page 80). The fragment described

above is the only known example of a Late Period Theban tomb relief indicating the influence of the New Kingdom representation of foreigners. At the same time we do not know if Nespakashuty’s artist identified the country of origin of this garment or even recognized it as a foreign one.

Traditional long narrow dresses worn by female offering bearers were also shown slightly differently than those in Mentuemhat’s reliefs. V-neck dresses were replaced by dresses having a trapezoidal neckline (Figure 32). While Mentuemhat’s iconographic version developed from the Old Kingdom tradition, Nespakashuty’s variation of the same dress followed the Middle Kingdom models.⁸³ The Mentuemhat and Nespakashuty sculptors could have also been inspired by the Kushite monuments where both types of necklines are found.⁸⁴

Another detail of unusual interest is a depiction of a hedgehog as an offering (Figure 33).⁸⁵ Very few examples of this are known among ancient Egyptian tomb reliefs. Nespakashuty’s relief is one of three known Saite examples and the only one found in the Theban area.⁸⁶

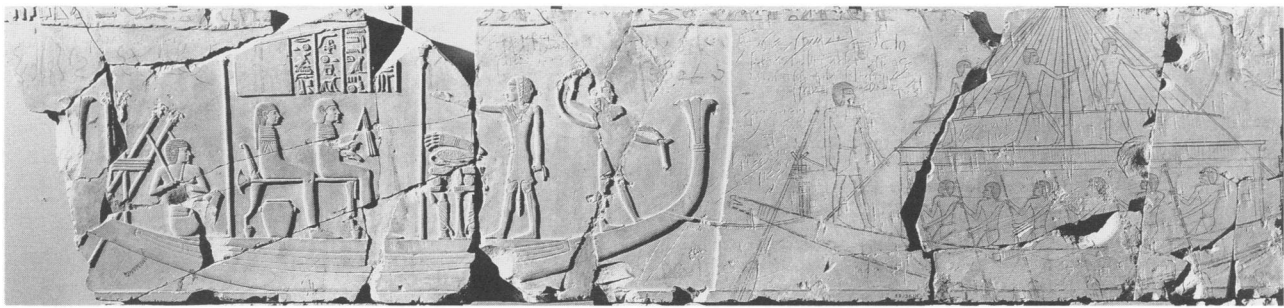


Figure 34. Central section of the west wall showing a scene of the Abydos pilgrimage. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.1G, H, I (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. H)

ABYDOS PILGRIMAGE

Fragments

1. Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.131.1G, H, I, 13–15;
2. MMA, 23.3.468.

Description of the reconstructed scenes

The Abydos Pilgrimage occupies the second register of the southern part of the west wall. It consists of two traditional parts: the first two boats on their way to Abydos and two boats on the return from Abydos.

The first pair of boats (a sailing boat and a ritual papyrus *nsmt*-boat) heading to the north are shown being rowed rather than under sail. The fragments of the first boat show five sailors and parts of the figure of an overseer brandishing his flail over the crew's heads. The second pair of boats illustrates the return by sail from Abydos (Figure 34). The representation of the sailing boat exists in a preliminary drawing that shows three sailors unfurling the sail, the captain at the prow giving orders to the steersman at the helm, and the rest of the crew rowing. Most New Kingdom examples show the sailors dropping their oars while one of them leans over the side to fill a jug with water.⁸⁷

The traditional composition is here reversed. Usually, a boat with sailors is represented to the right of the ritual boat so that they both go to the right and the second pair goes to the left. On the Nespakashuty relief the boats change places and the direction of movement.

Iconographic and stylistic sources

Nespakashuty's version is again close to Eighteenth-Dynasty prototypes. The closest parallels are the

corresponding scenes in the tombs of Puimre (TT 39), Amenemhet (TT 82), and Nebamune (TT 17).⁸⁸ The Mentuemhat scene, which reflects a New Kingdom iconography of the Abydos Pilgrimage also influenced Nespakashuty's composition.⁸⁹

The representation of Nespakashuty and his wife on a boat is very similar to its counterpart in the tomb of Mentuemhat.⁹⁰ Both are shown as wrapped figures seated on a lion-legged seat. Her arms are not visible, while Nespakashuty's far hand holding a flail is placed above the near oversize one. He wears a bag wig, and his wife is shown in a tripartite wig, the front lock of which is not represented.⁹¹ It has been suggested that these figures depict mummiform statues of the tomb



Figure 35. Nespakashuty and his wife Ketykety in the boat. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.15 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. EE)

owner and his wife.⁹² In the tomb of Ibi, a sledge under the figure of the tomb owner and his wife leaves no doubt that statues were represented.⁹³

Specific features

A distinctive feature in the representation of Nespakashuty on a ritual boat is the appearance of braces on the chests of the tomb owner and his wife (Figure 35). They wear collars with hanging beads and beneath them two crossed leather braces, usually found among the chest wrappings of mummies beginning in the Twenty-first Dynasty. Representations of such braces on mummiform deities are known as early as the Seventeenth Dynasty,⁹⁴ and from the Eighteenth Dynasty on they became common.⁹⁵ Beginning in the Twenty-first Dynasty the braces appear on mummy representations and presumably had a symbolic function indicating that the deceased was equal to the gods.⁹⁶

The richest source for representations of mummies shown with braces is Twenty-first Dynasty papyri, in which the braces appear on figures of two major types: mummiform gods (gods of the netherworld,⁹⁷ the four sons of Horus,⁹⁸ or Osiris⁹⁹) and mummies of private people.¹⁰⁰

The depiction of the braces on the figures of Nespakashuty and his wife denotes that seated mummies are represented; the iconography of seated mummiform figures decorated with a collar necklace and braces may recall images of Osiris.¹⁰¹ To my knowledge, there are no parallels among the New Kingdom or Late Period representations. Even when figures appear mummiform, they do not have the braces, identifying them as mummies. Jan Assmann has reconstructed the figures of Basa and his wife with braces, as in the Nespakashuty reliefs, although there is no evidence for such a reconstruction.¹⁰² It is more likely that Basa chose a more traditional version of the representation of a tomb owner in the pilgrimage boat, such as that shown in Mentuemhat's tomb and later repeated in the tombs of Ibi and Pabasa.

Nespakashuty's lion-legged chair with an open back is also exceptional for an Abydos Pilgrimage scene.¹⁰³ Its back support has an angled batten from the seat to the curved top rail and a strut joined to it.¹⁰⁴ This type of chair was frequently represented during the Middle and New Kingdom, as a chair for a tomb owner seated in front of an offering table.¹⁰⁵ A Late Period addition to this type of chair is a large papyrus umbel at the back of the seat.¹⁰⁶ Nespakashuty's chair type did not become traditional for the Late Period Theban Abydos Pilgrimage scene: every one displays a different type of chair.¹⁰⁷

The remains of a cabin with a curved roof above the figures of Nespakashuty and his wife indicate a shape

similar to New Kingdom prototypes.¹⁰⁸ Fragments of a head in an elaborate wig and of a vessel with burning incense show that there was a priest performing rituals in front of the seated couple. The empty space between Nespakashuty and the priest is large enough to contain a traditional offering table. Representations of a priest making offerings in front of the deceased on a pilgrimage boat became traditional in Late Period Theban tombs.¹⁰⁹

FUNERARY RITUALS AND PROCESSION

Fragments

1. MMA, 23.3.468, 23.3.468 (EP 1);
2. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. M4C 271;
3. Brooklyn Museum of Art 52.131.2, 3;
4. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, 18236.

Description of the reconstructed scenes

To the right of the Abydos Pilgrimage in the second register of the west wall four more boats were represented: a boat towing the barge with the sarcophagus to the necropolis on the west bank of the Nile and two others carrying female mourners. The fragment showing the stern of the last boat in the register also shows remains of an elbow and a hand of a large-scale figure (see Figure 27). There is no doubt that the large figure of a mourner or probably a few mourners were represented near the boat. To the right of the mourners two booths with offerings are depicted. Remains of feet to the right indicate that the rest of the second register was probably filled with a representation of the funerary procession. Fragments of ten figures carrying furniture, clothes, and weapons in the funerary procession on the west wall have survived. The funerary procession and rituals continue on the east wall. They include male and female mourners, dragging the coffin, bearers of funerary equipment, an Opening of the Mouth ceremony, and the goddess of the West.

Iconographic and stylistic sources

The funerary procession and associated rites seen in Nespakashuty's tomb are basically similar to the corresponding scene in the tomb of Mentuemhat.¹¹⁰

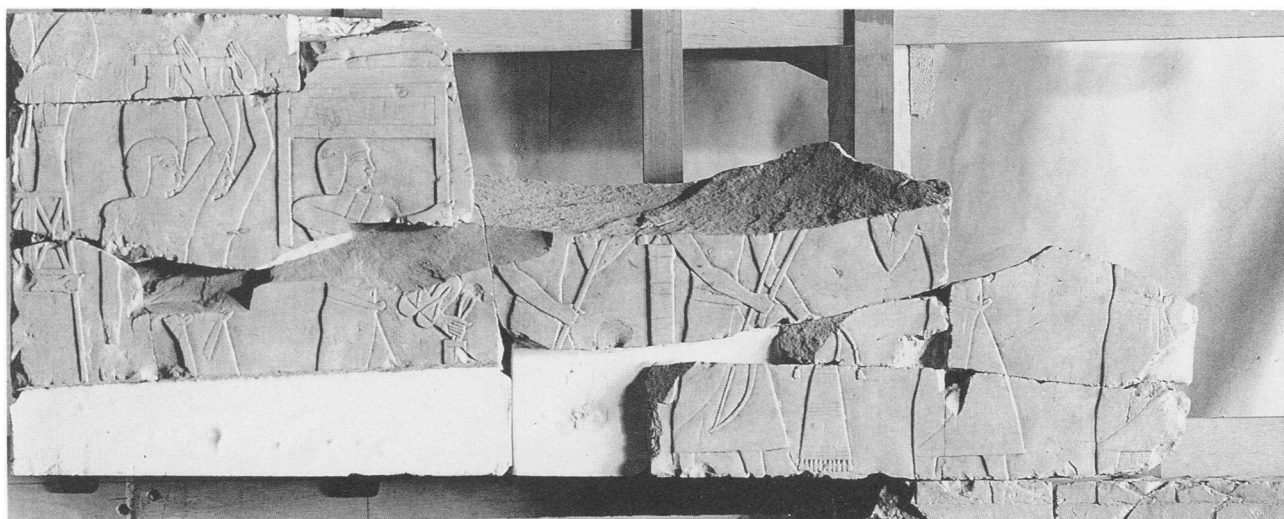


Figure 36. Southern section of the west wall showing a funerary procession. The Metropolitan Museum of Art reconstruction, 1947–48 (photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 1948, neg. no. 139273)

However, Nespakashuty's procession is more modest and contains elements that do not correspond to Mentuemhat's composition. It is possible that Nespakashuty's scene was strongly influenced by Ramesside period examples.¹¹¹ The reduction of the number of represented scenes to a few rituals and exclusion of the majority of previously depicted episodes recalls Ramesside precedents.¹¹² Nineteenth-Dynasty funeral scenes occupied far less space than funerary processions of their predecessors concentrating on men carrying funerary equipment, sledges bearing the body of the deceased, and male and female mourners. Precursors of this reduced version are found in the tombs dating just before the Amarna period, for instance in the tombs of Nebamun and Ipuki, and Ramose.¹¹³

It is, however, difficult to find the direct source for Nespakashuty's funerary procession. The closest parallel is a painting in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki (TT 181), which dates to the reign of Amenhotep III or IV, foreshadowing the Ramesside model of the funerary procession.¹¹⁴ There is a great similarity between some parts of the funerary procession in the tombs of Nespakashuty and of Nebamun and Ipuki. This allows the suggestion that the artists who decorated the tomb of Nespakashuty could have visited the earlier tomb. The clearest evidence is a figure of an offering bearer carrying a pair of sandals, a small bag, and a chest (Figure 36). This is a traditional choice of offerings for the Eighteenth Dynasty, but they usually appear in different combinations.¹¹⁵ In the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki the offering bearer with the sandals looks exactly the same as his counterpart on the west wall in

Nespakashuty's tomb. The near outstretched arm holds a small bag, the sandals hang on the arm, and the far arm supports a chair on his head.¹¹⁶ Another figure behind him might also have been inspired by the painting in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki: an offering bearer carrying a vase stand with four vessels for sacred oil. Two vessels are preserved on the fragment from the tomb of Nespakashuty, perhaps the only ones originally represented there. On the northern part of the east wall of Nespakashuty's tomb a similar figure carries a stand with two vessels, which are larger than those from the New Kingdom and are decorated with big lotus flowers on the top. Only parts of two other figures in front of the file are preserved. An elbow of the second man shows that his near arm was raised. If similar to the



Figure 37. Relief fragment showing a funeral booth. West wall, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 271)

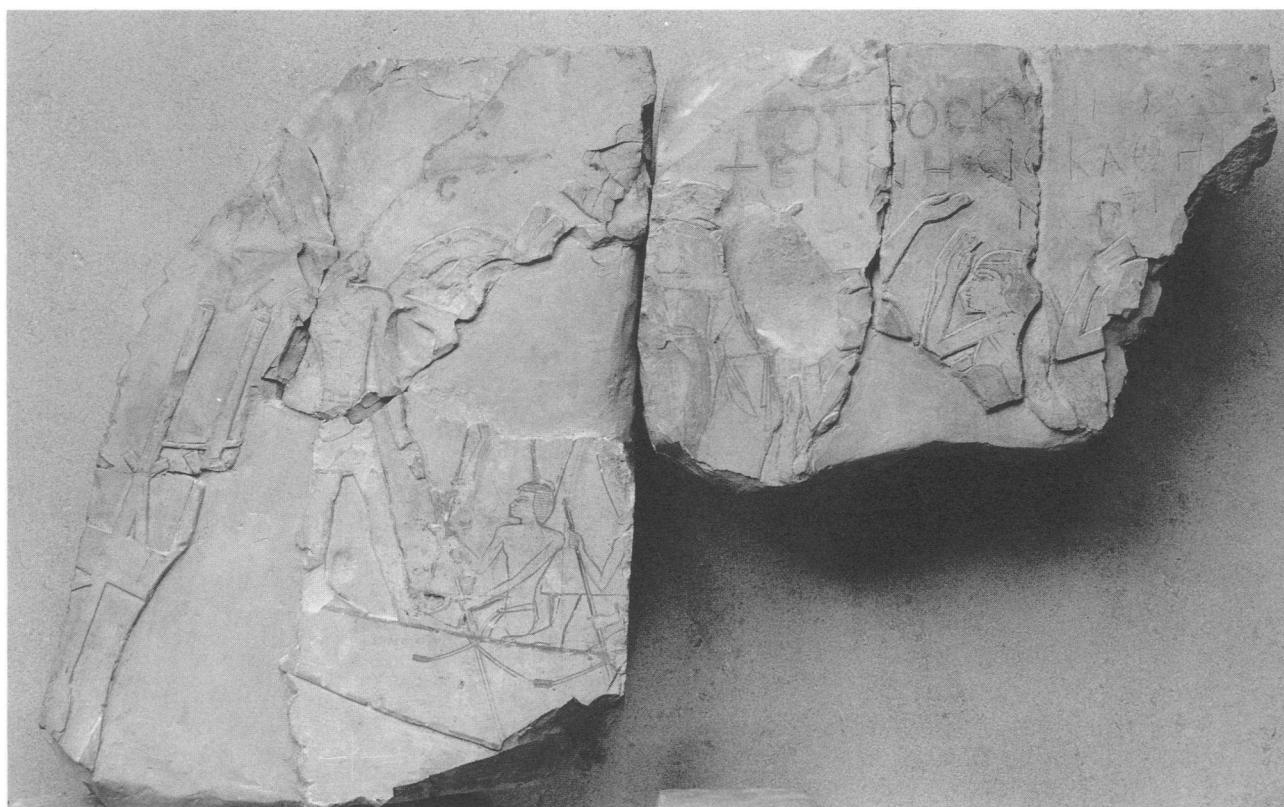


Figure 38. Relief fragment showing two female offering bearers. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)



Figure 39. Relief fragments showing female mourners in a boat. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

Nebamun and Ipuki painting, these figures might carry a lion-legged bed. Another figure with an outstretched arm may carry two wooden boxes for canopic jars on a tray. A similar figure on the opposite east wall is shown carrying a tray with two boxes. Compared with their New Kingdom precedents, these boxes are much larger, causing the bearer to support the tray on his shoulder. However, there are a few offering bearers carrying weapons who are not present in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki but are represented in many other Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs.¹¹⁷

Some of the funerary rites depicted in Nespakashuty's tomb, such as funeral booths with priests in them, were also possibly inspired by a painting in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki (Figure 37). The preserved booth fragments from Nespakashuty's tomb show the base of a column and remnants of four vase stands, a small offering table with five loaves of bread, two bunches of grapes, lettuce, and lotus flowers. According to the small scale of the booths, there were two of them represented, one above the other. The Nebamun and Ipuki have a similar composition: two booths with papyrus-shaped columns at the front side placed one above another and next to the mourners.¹¹⁸

As mentioned above, some parts of the composition were inspired by the decoration in Mentuemhat's tomb. The iconography of the expressive scene showing female mourners in two boats in Nespakashuty's tomb is so close to the respective scene in the tomb of Mentuemhat that it was most likely adapted from it with some changes and reductions.¹¹⁹ There are fewer figures in Nespakashuty's tomb, and they are depicted in slightly different poses. In the Mentuemhat reliefs most of the mourners are shown with their arms bent above the heads, while in Nespakashuty's reliefs the arms are usually placed in front of the faces (Figures 38, 39). Nespakashuty's sculptors, however, directly repeated the most expressive of Mentuemhat's mourners, the one with the arms raised up high.¹²⁰

Specific features

On the west wall of Nespakashuty's tomb eight boats are represented in one register: four boats of the Abydos Pilgrimage and four of the Last Journey to the West. The combination of these two scenes in one register is very unusual. In Mentuemhat's tomb they are contained on the same wall but separated from each other. The Abydos Pilgrimage occupies the bottom register, while the barks with the mourners and the scene of the towing of the barge laden with the sarcophagus to the west bank of the Nile were placed at

the top. The combination of two compositions in one might be explained by a desire to use space in the most rational way. The only decorated chamber in Nespakashuty's tomb is much smaller than the space available for reliefs in Mentuemhat's tomb, and representations of ships need a wide register. The idea of placing all the boats in one line may be attributed to the aesthetic sense of the Nespakashuty sculptor: eight boats in one row with their repeated oars and sails look rhythmical. A similar combination of the Abydos Pilgrimage and the Last Journey to the West (six boats in two subregisters) appears in Pabasa's tomb.¹²¹ As Pabasa's tomb was decorated almost fifty years later, it could have been influenced by the relief decoration in the tomb of Nespakashuty.

One figure in the Nespakashuty funerary procession was exceptional. On the relief fragment one can still see a hand holding an offering table with the lower parts of two mummiform statuettes on it, while lotus flowers and buds hang down from the table (Figure 40). The mummiform figurines must represent the pharaoh in the red crown; such figurines are usually carried in New Kingdom representations of funerary processions.¹²² A similar representation was placed on the opposite east wall in Nespakashuty's tomb and in the later tomb of Ibi (Figure 41).¹²³ Quite unusual is the combination of the statuettes with the lotus flowers that hang from the table. Such hanging flowers are strongly associated with the iconography of fecundity figures, which, with specific types of offerings, had been traditionally a part of the decoration of royal complexes since the Old Kingdom. Nespakashuty's sculptors could have seen them in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.¹²⁴ Rare Late Period royal examples of fecundity figures are known from the Taharka reliefs at Karnak and from two copies of Sahure's temple reliefs on two naos of Amasis.¹²⁵ On the Old Kingdom examples and their Late Period copies, *ḥnh* and *w3s* signs, or (rarely) bunches of blooms of the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, were shown hanging from a table.¹²⁶ It seems that Nespakashuty's artists followed Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Dynasty parallels, showing fecundity figures with lotus or papyrus flowers on long stems.¹²⁷ As fecundity figures were mostly part of royal temple decoration, examples in private tombs are very rare. The tomb of Nespakashuty is the only known Late Period example of their appearance in a private tomb.

The six surviving representations of the male mourners on the southern part of the east wall wear an unusual garment (Figure 42). The long plain kilts and short wigs are probably a result of the influence of tombs from the Ramesside period, when represen-



Figure 40. Relief fragment with a fecundity figure. West wall, 1922–23 (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. 140120)

tations of male mourners became popular.¹²⁸ The depiction of male mourners before Dynasty 19 is exceptional.¹²⁹ Ramesside tomb reliefs usually show large groups of male mourners wearing elaborate garments: long pleated kilts and shirts. In most cases they have shaved heads.¹³⁰ The first representation of male mourners in the Late Period tombs occurs in the tomb of Mentuemhat, where remnants of four of them are preserved.¹³¹ They wear short plain wigs but their garments are not visible. Later, representation of male mourners became a Theban necropolis tradition.¹³² In the tomb of Pabasa they wear pleated kilts, in the tomb of Basa archaic short kilts, and in the tomb of Ibi double kilts. Only in Nespakashuty's tomb do they wear long plain kilts.

The exceptional character of the garment of the female mourners has already been discussed (see "Processions of Offering Bearers," page 76) (Figure 43). A long diagonally wrapped skirt leaving the upper part of the body bare does not occur on mourners in any other New Kingdom or Late Period tombs.¹³³ This wraparound garment of Canaanite or Syro-Palestinian origin recalls foreign dresses as depicted in the New Kingdom.¹³⁴

Nespakashuty's artists clearly did not follow a single tradition or pattern, but they combined small details from different periods. While using mainly Ramesside prototypes for the representation of funerary rites, they added some details and figures following an earlier tradition. Another example of combining different iconographic traditions is a scene of the coffin being dragged,



Figure 41. Relief fragment with two participants of the funerary procession. East wall, 1922–23. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago; 18236; (photo: Egyptian Expedition, neg. no. M4C 281)



Figure 42. Southern section of the east wall with offering bearers and male mourners, 1922–23. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.2, 26–31 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. DDD)



Figure 43. Relief fragment with female mourners. East wall, 1922–23. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.3 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art, neg. no. Q)

Figure 44. Relief fragment showing two female offering bearers. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)



which shows it in a kiosk decorated with the hieroglyphic signs *dd* and *tit* (Isis knot). The kiosk is placed on a sledge being dragged by bulls. This iconography is traditional for the Nineteenth Dynasty, but additional representations of a few men inside the kiosk belong to the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.¹³⁵

The tomb of Nespakashuty shows the shortest version of the funerary rites among the Late Period Asasif tombs. Many episodes seen in the tomb of Mentuemhat were not represented. The later tombs of Ibi and Basa show more similarity to Mentuemhat's composition.¹³⁶

TWO SCULPTORS OF THE RELIEFS IN NESPAKASHUTY'S TOMB

The decoration of Nespakashuty's tomb is executed in raised relief with gently rounded edges. Its surface is relatively unmodeled with only a few small incised details that were carefully carved. Approximately half of the relief decoration was completed. The preserved parts remain in a fragmentary condition. Nevertheless, one can suggest that at least two sculptors (or groups of sculptors) worked on the reliefs. With some reservations they may be called the sculptors of the east and the west walls. The difference in their individual manners is especially noticeable in the representation of the offering bearers in the bottom register of the two walls.

The middle section of the bottom register on the west wall shows the tomb's most elaborate style (Figure 44). The figures are executed in bold relief with rounded edges. Female figures are slim and elegant with small exposed breasts, narrow shoulders, thin waists, nicely carved feet, and gently curving, elongated fingers. Numerous small incised details are executed with great care and diligence. The combination of the flat, almost unmodeled surface of the dresses and decorative details evokes a style of the Eleventh Dynasty.¹³⁷

The offering bearers from the east wall and the southern part of the west wall are executed in more shallow relief (Figure 45). The figures are proportionally heavier and wider in waists and shoulders. Their exposed breasts are full and supported by the upper edge of the dress. Their feet are flat; fingers are straight and short. The relief surface on the east wall is left almost undecorated with even fewer incised details. These features are closer to the earlier models from the Twelfth Dynasty.¹³⁸ It is also possible that this simple but delicate style was derived from the reliefs of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, themselves based on early Twelfth-Dynasty Theban monuments.¹³⁹

The most distinctive traits in Nespakashuty's reliefs are the facial features of minor figures: the exaggerated, narrow, slightly slanted eyes pointed down, the upper eyelid rims ending in cosmetic lines, raised eye-



Figure 45. Relief fragment showing two female offering bearers. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

Figure 46. Relief fragment showing the head of a male offering bearer. East wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997, 1997.137.4 (photo: Bill Barrette)



brows, long noses, thick and sharply defined lips squared at the corner, and firm, overshot chins (Figures 46, 47). These faces bear a remarkable resemblance to the Theban facial style of the Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁴⁰

Because of its exceptional location for a Late Period tomb high up on the cliff at Deir el-Bahri, the tomb of Nespakashuty is surrounded by early Middle Kingdom tombs, and the reliefs directly reflect early Middle Kingdom stylistic prototypes. It seems that an especially important source of inspiration were reliefs in the tomb of Queen Neferu (TT 319) of the Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁴¹ It is highly probable that Nespakashuty's sculptors had the opportunity to visit the tomb of Neferu. Although the Hatshepsut temple porch was built across its entrance, a narrow tunnel was erected that descended from the upper court of the temple to the entrance of Neferu's tomb.¹⁴²

The narrow eyes of the figures in the Nespakashuty reliefs also reflect the development of a facial type of the Late Theban necropolis from the Kushite to the Saite styles, with a tendency to decrease the size of the eye by making it narrower. The shape of the eyes in Nespakashuty's reliefs contrasts with the wider eyes seen on the minor figures in the tomb of Mentuemhat whose facial type could have been inspired by the representations in nearby tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the monuments of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹⁴³

The individual styles discussed above are also dis-

tinct in two versions of a common facial type. The faces on the west wall look well proportioned: eyes are fully rimmed and the iris and pupil are indicated. The faces on the east wall have huge, almost grotesque noses. Eyes are not rimmed or only an upper rim is indicated; the iris is not shown.

Representations of objects and of minor details are also important in designating an individual style. Small objects can be considered a hallmark of an individual hand. There is a pronounced difference in the representation of offerings on the east and west walls. The sculptor of the west wall, who liked minor decorative details, depicts arc-shaped baskets with a pile of different offerings, which are organized symmetrically. The sculptor of the east wall prefers semicircular or tall baskets with plain surfaces that show only one or very few offerings represented in a large scale, usually a head of lettuce or a few loaves of bread or a pile of homogeneous offerings that look solid. Even the rendering of the same object by the different sculptors is modified. For example, a head of lettuce in a basket on the east wall is large and rigid, with sharp ends on the leaves. A head of lettuce on the west wall is in a compact, one-piece form: it is small and looks soft.

Not only completed parts of the reliefs but even preliminary drawings demonstrate the different stylistic variations. A comparison of two preliminary drawings of male offering bearers shows a pronounced difference in proportions and in the treatment of the body.

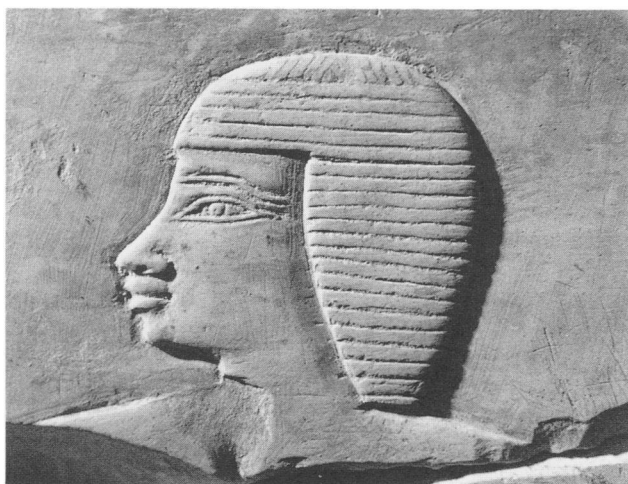


Figure 47. The head of a priest. East wall. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Walter Buhl Ford II Fund, 1993.55 (photo: courtesy The Detroit Institute of Arts)

One fragment in the Metropolitan Museum shows a slim, elegantly proportioned figure whose legs have no indication of muscles. Its style reflects the influence of the Hatshepsut temple reliefs (Figure 48). A fragment from the Brooklyn Museum shows a figure with heavy



Figure 48. Limestone block showing the unfinished figure of the male offering bearer. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923, 23.3.468 (photo: Bill Barrette)

proportions and over-muscled legs, which demonstrate the influence of the Theban Kushite style based on Old Kingdom art (Figure 49).¹⁴⁴

An interesting drawing is a recent acquisition of the Museum's Department of Egyptian Art (see Appendix). It shows a fat herdsman feeding an ibex (Figure 50). It is impossible to name a direct prototype for this scene, as representations of ibex are frequent in Old and Middle Kingdom tomb reliefs,¹⁴⁵ and the gesture of feeding has been well known since the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁶ Also, the representation of minor figures of workmen as fat people is an old tradition in Egyptian art.¹⁴⁷ All these prototypes together may have influenced the draftsmen of Nespakashuty. This unfinished fragment also clearly demonstrates a technique of Nespakashuty's artists. Every figure was drawn twice; the preliminary drawing was roughly done with thick brush marks in a pale reddish color. At this stage the draftsmen determined the position of the figure on the wall, its proportions, and its general attitude. The second drawing made with a thin brush was more sophisticated. Elegant, curved brushmarks outline all the details for the sculptors to carve out. The quality of this drawing reveals the hand of a real master.

Although modest and unfinished, the relief decora-



Figure 49. Limestone block showing the unfinished figure of the male offering bearer. West wall. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.22 (photo: courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art)



Figure 50. Limestone block showing remnants of the drawing of a male figure with an ibex. West wall. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997, 1997.137.5 (photo: Bill Barrette)

tion of the tomb of Nespakashuty demonstrates a wide range of stylistic and iconographic variations. It owes much to the earlier tombs of the Asasif necropolis, which can be explained by direct copying, using the same so-called pattern books, or even employing some of the artists who could have worked for Mentuemhat. Nevertheless, Nespakashuty's tomb is not simply a small version of the immense, richly decorated tombs of his predecessors. Some features of its reliefs, such as certain details and scenes are not to be found in earlier or later Asasif tombs. Perhaps they were not included in pattern books but were selected by Nespakashuty's artists, revealing an individual approach to composing scenes.

Iconographically, Nespakashuty's artists created a version of relief decoration for a small tomb. The choice of the scenes shows which of them were considered most important. Furthermore, their layout on the walls, which shows both a practical and an aesthetic sensibility, was appreciated by the sculptors who worked in later tombs. Some of the compositional inventions of Nespakashuty's sculptors were influential for later tombs, even of a large size. Stylistically, Nespakashuty's reliefs, which were influenced by the early Eighteenth Dynasty, Twentieth-fifth Dynasty royal art, and Asasif private tomb reliefs, owe a lot to the early Middle Kingdom Theban style. The unfinished

state of the tomb reliefs adds to our knowledge of the process of Late Period relief carving.

ABBREVIATIONS

CdÉ—*Chronique d'Égypte*

GM—*Göttinger Miszellen*

JARCE—*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*

LÄ—Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfgang Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–76) 6 vols.

MDAIK—*Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*

PM—Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, I: *The Theban Necropolis, Part I: Private Tombs* (Oxford, 1960)

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CHART 1. ICONOGRAPHIC AND STYLISTIC SOURCES OF THE NEPSKASHUTY TOMB RELIEF DECORATION

Sources Scenes in the tomb	Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)	Other Late Period tombs	Early Middle Kingdom tomb reliefs	Hatshepsut temple reliefs	Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs	Ramesside private tombs
Representations of Nespakashuty	X	X				
Offering list and offering rituals		X	X	X		
Slaughtering scene			X	X		
Processions of offering bearers in the bottom register	X		X		X	
Abydos Pilgrimage	X				X	
Funerary rituals and procession	X				X	X

CHART 2. RELIEF DECORATION OF THE EAST AND WEST WALLS OF THE FIRST CHAMBER IN THE TOMB OF NEPAKASHUTY

East wall			
North	8 Seated	Offering	Large-scale offerings
	7		Large-scale offerings
	6		Large-scale offerings
	5 Nespakashuty	List	Male offering bearers
	4 Offering rituals		Male offering bearers
3 Offering bearers with meat and fowl		Slaughtering scene	
2 Opening of the Mouth		Rituals in front of the mummy	
1 (bottom register)		Funerary procession	
		Procession of offering bearers	
West wall			
North	8 Large-scale offerings	Offering	Seated
	7 Large-scale offerings		
	6 Large-scale offerings		
	5 Male offering bearers	List	Nespakashuty
	4 Male offering bearers		Offering rituals
3 Offering bearers with sacred oil, clothes, fowl and meat			
2 Abydos Pilgrimage		Last Journey to the West	
1 (bottom register)		Funerary procession	
		Procession of offering bearers	

Appendix: Catalogue of the Dispersed Relief Fragments from the Tomb of Nespakashuty Included in this Article

Baltimore

Walters Art Gallery

22.216 *Fragment of the ritual scene*

DESCRIPTION: Relief fragment showing a priest performing an "Opening of the mouth" ritual. He makes libations from a ritual jar with his far arm and holds another vessel with burning incense in his near hand. He wears a long kilt, a leopard skin and a short horizontally striated wig with vertical locks on the top. He has long, narrow fully rimmed eyes, small mouth and a short beard. There is a stand with special tools for the opening of the mouth behind him. Traces of the inscription are seen above his head: [š] hr . . . ḏd mdw jn . . . sm jm(j)[hnt] [rdjtš] hr . . . ("[putting] sand on [. . .]. Recitation by the sm and jmj-[hnt] ("priest").

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: The northern part of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 33.5 cm, W. 35.5 cm

CONDITION: Large chips at edges, inscription looks deliberately damaged, long vertical chisel marks are seen on the upper part of the inscription.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1929

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Pischikova, "Four Reliefs from the Tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312) in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (1998) (forthcoming).

COMMENT: This relief fragment was found by Winlock together with the other tomb reliefs in 1922 and recorded on the field photograph that is now in Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. M4C 326. The Walters Art Gallery dated the fragment to the Old Kingdom. The relief is executed in a very gentle, sophisticated style. All details are carefully treated. Fingers are very long with nails indicated, which is unusual.

22.329 *Fragment of the offering composition (Figures 16, 20)*

DESCRIPTION: Relief depicts an offering bearer, facing left who lifts a basket with offerings and a wine jar in his raised hands. He wears a short kilt and a short, horizontally stepped wig. He has natural eyebrows and rimless eyes. At his right, the offerings of a missing bearer are shown; they consist of a fowl and a tray containing bread and grapes.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fifth register of the east wall next to the offering list

MEASUREMENTS: H. 19.5 cm, W. 29 cm

CONDITION: Blackened with smoke; the lower left part of the relief looks deliberately cut.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1930; said to be from Luxor. The Walters Art Gallery records show that it is probably derived from Deir el-Bahri.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) no. 240, p. 72, pl. 40.

COMMENT: The fragment was dated to Dynasty 18 by Steindorff. It joins two other fragments of the east wall recorded by Winlock (neg. no. M4C 294).

22.331 *Fragment of the offering procession (Figures 16, 21)*

DESCRIPTION: Relief shows two left facing offering bearers. Only the hand of a third bearer, holding a round jar, is visible in the upper right corner. One bearer leads a bull by his far hand, and carries a fowl by its wings in the other. The second bearer clasps a fowl with both arms, while holding three papyrus stems and a lotus bouquet. Both wear short belted kilts and plain wigs that cover their ears. The faces have plastically rounded eyebrows and fully rimmed eyes.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fifth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 19 cm, W. 38 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at the edges and on the surface

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1931; said to be from Deir el-Bahri

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) p. 73, no. 243, pl. 43.

COMMENT: Steindorff attributed this relief fragment to Dynasty 18. It was recorded by Winlock on the field photograph together with a fragment from the Brooklyn Museum of Art, no. 52.131.17, in 1922 (neg. no. M4C 301).

22.132 *Fragment of the head of a priest*

DESCRIPTION: Relief fragment of the head and shoulders of a man wearing an elaborate short stepped wig with straight locks on the top. The face has plastically rounded eyebrows, long, slanted fully rimmed eyes with long cosmetic lines, long nose, full lips, and short chin. The iris and pupil are indicated.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fourth register of the east wall below the offering list

MEASUREMENTS: H. 8 cm, W. 9.5 cm

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1930; said to be from Deir el-Bahri

CONDITION: The edges seems to be deliberately cut, small chips on the surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) no. 251, p. 74, pl. 40.

COMMENT: Steindorff dated the fragment to Dynasty 18.

Brooklyn, New York

Brooklyn Museum of Art

52.131.1–32 and 68.1 (Figures 28, 31, 34, 35, 42, 43, 49)

DESCRIPTION: A section of the west wall shows the remains of three registers: the procession of offering bearers in the bottom register; Abydos pilgrimage in the second register, and offering bearers with the sacred oil in the third register. A section of the east wall shows offering bearers in the bottom register, and a group of mourners in the second register.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Central and southern sections of the west and east walls

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Five Years of Collecting of Egyptian Art: 1951–1956* (New York, 1956) pp. 32–33, no. 35, pls. 56–59; R. Fazzini, et al, *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989) no. 73.

Cambridge

The Fitzwilliam Museum

University of Cambridge

E.GA.3001.1943 *Fragment of the offering procession*

DESCRIPTION: The relief shows remnants of a female offering bearer figure. Only the back part of the wig and a semicircular basket with figs is preserved. The inscription on the right part of the fragment says: “grapes of the priest of . . . gardens of the scribe of the temple of . . .”

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 38.5 cm, W. 26.5 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from two pieces; some chips at edges and on the surface

PROVENANCE: Bequest of Gayer-Anderson, 1943

Chicago

Oriental Institute Museum

University of Chicago

OIM 18236 *Fragments of the offering and funerary processions* (Figures 33, 41)

DESCRIPTION: A section of the east wall shows three registers. The bottom one contains a procession of eight offering bearers facing left: three males and five females. Men wear short kilts and short, horizontally striated wigs. Women wear tripartite wigs and long tight dresses with shoulder knots. All of them support baskets with offerings on their heads. The second register contains figures of seven participants in the funerary procession. The first two wear long kilts, the other five wear short ones. Six of them wear elaborate short curly wigs with straight locks

on the top. The last one wears a shoulder-length plain wig. The first offering bearer carries a long *Stabstrass*; the second, a chest; the third and fourth, vase stands with vessels for the sacred oil; the fifth, a tray with two statuettes; the sixth, two mummiform statuettes in red crowns; the seventh, two boxes for canopic jars. The third register contains six figures of priests bringing fowl and parts of a bull. They wear short kilts and short curly wigs with straight locks on the top. The northern part of the section shows the remains of the “Opening of the Mouth.”

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Northern part of the east wall

CONDITION: Assembled from thirty-two fragments

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

Denver, Colorado

The Denver Art Museum

1949.7 *Four fragments with the offering of the animals* (Figures 15, 16)

DESCRIPTION: Four blocks showing two offering bearers with animals attached together.

1. The arm of an offering bearer and the back of a bull are shown on this fragment. The inscription above says *mzhd* (“orix”).

2. Torsos of the two offering bearers facing left are shown on this fragment. They wear plain kilts and short plain wigs. The first one has a sash across the far shoulder and chest. The second offering bearer carries an antelope on his shoulders. Their faces with fully rimmed eyes, plastic eyebrows and deep nasa-labial furrows are well modeled.

3. The third fragment shows the legs of a bull and of a herdsman, whose legs are well modeled. The muscles and toe nails are indicated.

4. The fourth fragment shows the legs of a second offering bearer and a leg of the man following him. A far leg of the third offering bearer is seen behind a bull or cow which he leads. Only the muzzle and a front leg of the animal is preserved.

An inscription along the lower border of the representation says: . . . *jnpw n hm-hrw hm b3w nhn m dd-mdw wbn.f zm3pt r t3* . . . (“ . . . Anubis, for the Horus-priest and priest of the Ba’s of Nekhen, reciting: May he rise; may the sky be joined to the earth”).

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: The fourth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 41.6 cm, W. 68.6 cm

CONDITION: The second and third blocks were assembled from two fragments. All four blocks have chips at the edges. The neck of the antelope on the second block has modern reconstruction.

PROVENANCE: Acquired from an anonymous donor through an exchange with The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1949

COMMENT: These four original blocks are installed in the Denver Art Museum with two additional blocks (upper right and upper left) that are modern reconstructions.

Detroit, Michigan

The Detroit Institute of Arts

1993.55 Fragment of the ritual scene (Figure 47)

DESCRIPTION: A relief fragment shows a priest pouring libations from a ritual vessel over the head of a second kneeling priest; only his wig is preserved. Both wear short horizontally striated wigs. The first priest has a narrow, slanted fully rimmed eye, plastic eyebrow, long nose, full lips, and short chin. On the left side of the fragment the outstretched arm of a third priest is visible.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall below an offering list

MEASUREMENTS: H. 16 cm, W. 30 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from four fragments; large chips on the surface

PROVENANCE: Founders Society Purchase, Walter Buhl Ford II Fund, 1993

New York

Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery

Office of Art Properties

Columbia University

in the City of New York

COO. 1699. 1a, 1b, 1c Fragments of the offering procession (Figures 16, 17)

DESCRIPTION: The relief shows two male offering bearers facing left. The first one holds a wine jar twined by a vine. The second man carries a piece of meat and a loaf of bread in a basket. Remnants of offerings carried by the third offering bearer are visible on the right side of the block. They consist of a fowl and a bunch of onions in a wide basket. The offering bearers wear short plain kilts and short horizontally striated wigs.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fourth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 35 cm, W. 42 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from three fragments, numerous chips at edges

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: The fragment is a copy of the relief from the north wall of the Southern Hall of Offerings in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahri.

COO. 1699. 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d Fragment of the bringing of sacred oil

DESCRIPTION: The remains of two offering bearers bringing vessels with sacred oil can be seen. Only the head of the first offering bearer is preserved. He wears a short, curly, elaborate wig. His face with a fully rimmed eye, plastic eyebrow and long nose is well modeled. He carries a tray with two bags of eye paint on it. Only remnants of the second offering bearer bags are visible. A preliminary drawing of the inscription executed in red paint is seen above them.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fourth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 14 cm, W. 30 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from four pieces; unfinished and executed partly in red paint

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: This fragment fits Brooklyn Museum of Art fragment number 52.131.17.

COO. 1699. 3a, 3b Fragment of the offering procession (Figure 16)

DESCRIPTION: The upper part of the offerings carried by the offering bearers facing left. The top of the short striated wig and a plastic eyebrow of the first offering bearer are visible. A large wine jar twined by a lotus flower is seen in front of him. The offerings of the second offering bearer consist of three loaves of bread (one rectangular and two round), a piece of meat, a grape and a bunch of onions. The remains of the inscription is above the representation. It says: . . . *n.k z3 tw qm3.n.f rnp(t) nb [. . .]* ("... for you the ground; he has created all vegetation ...").

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fourth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 17.5 cm, W. 35 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from two pieces; some chips on the surface

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: This fragment, like COO. 1699. 1a, 1b, 1c, is a direct copy from the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahri.

New York

Department of Egyptian Art

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

23.3.468 (EP 1) Fragment of the funerary procession

DESCRIPTION: The back part of a male body and three overlapping arms holding a rope are all that now remain from what was probably three male figures dragging a sledge with a coffin or canopic jars. They wear short kilts.

The representation is executed in very low relief, almost without minor details. Only thumb nails are indicated.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Second register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 13.5 cm, W. 3.4 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from three fragments; two large chips at the edges

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23

COMMENT: The location of the fragment in the tomb is determined by the representation of three overlapping arms. Funerary procession is the only composition in the tomb where such a group is possible. The similar version of this scene occurs in later Asasif tombs, for example, in that of Iby (K. von Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Iby*, [Mainz, 1983] pl. 62) and Basa (J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* [Mainz, 1973] pl. 29).

23.3.468 (EP 2) *Fragment of the offering procession (Figure 27)*

DESCRIPTION: This fragment shows the right shoulder, bent arm, and elaborate curled wig of the male figure facing right. He holds an object with a round top, only a small part of which is visible. The remains of a basket are seen on his head.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 15.5 cm, W. 4.5 cm

CONDITION: A fragment of a broken block; original edges have not survived.

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23

COMMENT: The remains of the wide basket for offerings on the head of the man show that this piece is a fragment of a figure from the bottom register. It is the only register in the tomb where the offering bearers carry offerings on their heads according the Old Kingdom tradition. An object with a round top in his near hand might be the remains of the leash of an offering animal.

23.3.468 (EP 3) *Fragment of the offering procession (Figure 27)*

DESCRIPTION: Only the hip area of the male figure facing right is preserved. A narrow object hangs over his short kilt. The figure is executed in low relief; only one knee is modeled.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 15 cm, W. at bottom 6.4 cm, W. at top 1 cm

CONDITION: Edges are fractured.

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23.

COMMENT: It might be assumed that the narrow object hanging over the man's kilt is the long stem of the lotus flower that he hold in his hand. The closest parallel is a female offering bearer with a flower, from the bottom register of the west wall of the tomb of Nespakashuty.

23.3.468 (EP 4) *Fragment of a slaughtering scene (Figures 23b, 26)*

DESCRIPTION: Only a hand holding a bull's leg and a rope is preserved. The fingers are visible and well modeled; nails are indicated. A thumb is the nearest finger to the bull's hoof.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 9.5 cm, W. 10 cm

CONDITION: Large chips at edges; the lower left part is deliberately cut.

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23

COMMENT: At first glance it would seem that the fragment belongs to the offering bearer figure carrying a bull's leg. At the same time, in most cases, only the back of a hand is visible. Some times if fingers of a hand clasping the bull's leg are in full view, the pinkie is the finger nearest to the hoof. The only composition in which this hand position fits is a slaughtering scene.

23.3.468 (EP 5) *Fragment of a slaughtering scene (Figures 23b, 25)*

DESCRIPTION: The remains of two heads facing opposite are preserved here; they wear elaborate curled wigs with straight locks on the top. A rope loop is seen between them.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 10 cm, W. 16 cm

CONDITION: The edges are fractured; chips on the surface.

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23.

COMMENT: The only three areas in the tomb all on the east wall where wigs of this kind occur are: a group of priests performing offering rituals below the offering list, offering bearers bringing sacred oil in the fourth register, and a slaughtering scene in the third register.

23.3.468 (EP 6) *Fragment with a stern of a boat (Figure 27)*

DESCRIPTION: The lower part of a male figure standing in the aftercastle is visible. A completely finished large scale elbow and a hand are shown to the right. The figure of a sailor and an aftercastle are left unfinished; only outlines were carved.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Second register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 15 cm, W. 16, 5 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at edges

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23.

23.3.468 (EP 7) *Fragment of a male torso (Figure 27)*

DESCRIPTION: Only the upper part of the male torso

and two arms are preserved; his far arm was raised.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: The third register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 4 cm, W. 15 cm

CONDITION: Small chips at edges and on the surface

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23.

23.3.468 *Fragment of the offerings*

DESCRIPTION: The fragment shows the remains of large-scale offerings: a wine jar entwined by a lotus flower stem with a bud at the end; a lettuce and a fowl with elaborately decorated wings and tail. A register border is visible above the representation.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Seventh register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 14 cm, W. 35 cm

CONDITION: Small chips at edges; entire surface covered with cellulose nitrate adhesive

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23

COMMENT: The fragment was on loan to the Touch Collection in the MMA Education Department from 1983 to 1995.

1997.137.4 *Fragment of the offering procession (Figures 16, 46)*

DESCRIPTION: Relief fragment showing the head and shoulders of a man in a short horizontally striated wig; a tray with a pile of offerings rests on his shoulder.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fifth register on the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 4, 5 cm, W. 9, 7 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from two fragments, small chips at the edges covered with cellulose nitrate adhesive

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23, deaccessioned in 1948, purchased in 1997 as a Lila Acheson Wallace Gift

1997.137.5 *Fragment with a herdsman (Figure 50)*

DESCRIPTION: Drawing for relief showing a herdsman with an ibex

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fifth register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 28 cm, W. 27, 5 cm

CONDITION: Assembled from three fragments; small chips at the edges

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23, deaccessioned in 1948; purchased in 1997 as a Lila Acheson Wallace Gift

COMMENT: The inscription in red pigment under the representation says: *m ḥ3w nbw nḏm* (“with every sweet flower”).

1997.137.6 *Fragment with two offering bearers (Figures 27, 32)*

DESCRIPTION: Relief fragment with two female offering bearers

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 45 cm, W. 29, 2 cm

CONDITION: Small chips at the edges

PROVENANCE: Excavated by The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition led by H. Winlock in 1922–23, deaccessioned in 1948; purchased in 1997 as a Lila Acheson Wallace Gift

COMMENT: *[n] smr w^cty imr niwt t3ty Ns-p-k3-šwty* (“for the sole companion, mayor, vizier Nespakashuty”).

Princeton, New Jersey

The Art Museum, Princeton University

50–127 (EP 1) *Fragment of Nespakashuty's chair (Figures 7, 8)*

DESCRIPTION: Raised relief fragment of the lower part of the front leg of Nespakashuty's lion legged chair. Only part of the lion paw standing on the frustrum is preserved. The frustrum is turned up on the wide side. Below the register's border remnants of offerings are seen.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Northern part of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 25.5 cm, W. 11 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at edges

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: So far, this is the only fragment found of a representation of the tomb owner; it shows that the figure of Nespakashuty was executed in a much higher relief than all other parts of the tomb decoration.

50–127 (EP 2) *Fragment of an offering procession (Figure 16)*

DESCRIPTION: Raised relief fragment with the legs of a cow facing left and the feet of two attendants. At the right is a sign *n*.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 30 cm, W. 44.5 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at edges and on the surface

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: The original position of this fragment in the bottom register of the wall is defined by its lower part. Twenty–five centimeters of surface below the baseline, with the vertical chisel marks, is the lower border of the east and west walls.

50–127 (EP 3) *Fragment of an offering procession (Figure 16)*

DESCRIPTION: Raised relief fragment of two registers.

The upper register shows a far leg of the offering bearer and an oversized lotus blossom. The lower register shows the remnants of an inscription: only two signs *i* and *mn*, are preserved.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall

MEASUREMENT: H. 20 cm; W. 10 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at edges and on the surface

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

50-127 (EP 4) Fragment of an offering procession (Figure 16)

DESCRIPTION: Relief fragment of two registers. The upper one shows the legs of an offering bearer facing right; The lower one contains the remains of the inscription: *hmtj-bjtj smr [wʿtj h]n[tj . . .]* ("royal seal bearer, [unique] friend, [foremost of . . .]")

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 26 cm, W. 31 cm

CONDITION: A large chip on the right side of the lower register

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

50-127 (EP 5) Fragment of the offering procession with animals (Figure 16)

DESCRIPTION: A relief fragment shows the foot of an offering bearer and the three legs of the cow with a lead attached to its back leg. A surface below the baseline is left uncurved. The relief is finished except for the right and bottom border lines, which are marked with red paint.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Bottom register of the west wall, next to the right border

MEASUREMENTS: H. 25 cm, W. 34 cm

CONDITION: Some chips at edges; vertical chisel marks on the surface, traces of red paint

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

50-127 (EP 6) Three relief fragments of the offering procession (Figure 16)

DESCRIPTION: The relief assembled from several pieces shows bits of three figures of offering bearers. Only the torso of the first one is preserved; his near arm is stretched forward. The arm of the second supports a tray with a pile of figs. The far arm of the third holds a bowl with three loaves of bread and a bunch of onions.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Third register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 13 cm, W. 21.5 cm

CONDITION: The surface of the right part of the fragment is badly damaged.

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan

Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: The left fragment is attached to the group in the wrong way. The representation on it was considered as the body of the person carrying figs on the second fragment; as both show the near arms of the offering bearer, they cannot be part of one figure.

50-127 (EP 7) Relief fragment with two offering bearers (Figure 27)

DESCRIPTION: Two female offering bearers facing right. The first one supports a large semicircular bowl with loaves of bread on her head; the second woman carries a basket of berries in her near hand and supports a high basket on her head with her far hand. Between them are remains of the inscription. Only Nespakashuty's name is visible. The remains of the upper register are seen at the top.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: The bottom register of the west wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 41 cm, W. 40 cm

CONDITION: Surface is badly damaged; numerous ships on the surface

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950

50-127 (EP 8) Fragment of offerings

DESCRIPTION: It shows large-scale offerings: remains of two stands with wide baskets. The basket to the left is full of loaves of bread. One more loaf of bread and a bunch of grapes are shown on the right. Relief is shallow with well defined contours and a flat surface. In the representation of grapes each one is carefully curved around.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Fifth register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 15.5 cm; W. 29.5 cm

CONDITION: Some chips on the edges

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

COMMENT: Three upper registers of the east wall that show piles of large-scale offerings were executed by two different sculptors. The treatment of small details such as the style of the representation of a bunch of grapes is important for determining the individual sculptor.

50-127 (EP 9) Fragment of offerings

DESCRIPTION: The upper border of the upper register of the east wall is shown here. The remains of large-scale offerings are seen: a head of lettuce, the upper part of a melon, and a loaf of bread. The offerings are executed in a very low relief.

LOCATION IN THE TOMB: Upper register of the east wall

MEASUREMENTS: H. 10.5 cm, W. 40 cm

CONDITION: Some chips on the edges; some smoke blackening

PROVENANCE: Acquired from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950

NOTES

1. For a list of documents mentioning the Vizier Nespakashuty ("D," according to Kitchen), see K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1986) pp. 512, 598, 604. To distinguish Nespakashuty from his namesakes, see H. de Meulenaere, "La Famille des viziers Nespamedou et Nespachouty," *CdÉ* 38 (1963) pp. 71–73, fig. 1; G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte* (Vienna, 1978) pp. 3, 91, 144, 149, 154–159, 168, 190, 196–197, 200.

2. It is now known as Brooklyn Oracle Papyrus, no. 47.218.3. See R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in The Brooklyn Museum* (Providence, 1962) p. 15; Herman de Meulenaere, "Trois Viziers," *CdÉ* 33 (1958) pp. 197–201; E. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties: Its Origins and Development, with particular reference to the tomb of Harwa (TT 37)," Ph.D. diss., New York University (1992) pp. 448–451.

3. Nespakashuty D belonged to a prominent Thinite family who received an office of the vizier that had been held by Mentuemhat's family since the beginning of Dynasty 25. The first member of the family to be appointed vizier was Nespakashuty's grandfather Nespakashuty C, who passed it on to his son Nespamedu, Nespakashuty's father. Nespakashuty D was the third vizier in the family. It has been suggested that "the transfer of the office to a Thinite family was part of an attempt to redistribute power in Upper Egypt as a whole"; see A. Leahy, "Nespamedu, 'King' of Thinis," *GM* 35 (1979) pp. 33–36. H. de M[eulenaere], "Nespamedu," *LÄ* IV (1983) cols. 463–464; H. de Meulenaere, "Notes de prosopographie thébaine," *CdÉ* 53 (1978) pp. 229–231.

4. For the color illustrations, see Edna R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture* (Austin, 1989) figs. 82, 83, pp. 179–181. Another known statue of Nespakashuty, composed of two fragments, shows him kneeling with a Hathor sistrum (British Museum, BM 1132 + 1225); see Meulenaere, "La Famille des viziers," pp. 73–76.

5. Diethelm Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Vienna, 1984) p. 50, pl. 27B, fig. 26.

6. According to Edna Russmann, "the walls on the north side of the second court and the portico at the west end of the first court were decorated in two variants of Twenty-fifth Dynasty style. The reliefs on the north, south, and east facades of the first court and in the first room can be assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty," in E. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," *JARCE* 31 (1994) p. 17.

7. James Allen, "Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom," *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996) I, p. 20.

8. H. E. Winlock's field notes contain an explanation of this suggestion on p. 6: "The north end of the room above the doorway was bridged by two sandstone slabs. In the room were found a few fragments suggesting a false door, unsculptured. Except for the roll over the door, nothing definite could be identified. We have supposed, however, that this false door was erected on the sandstone slabs at the back of the room."

9. Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, p. 50, fig. 26. Winlock suggested that Nespakashuty, "seeing the imposing ruins of the fifteen-hundred-year-old Eleventh Dynasty tombs on the hillside, ordered his engineers to make the like for him." See H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942) p. 82.

10. James Allen elaborated on this concept in a conversation on Sept. 22, 1997. The examples of the early Middle Kingdom tombs with the attached corridors, he suggested, are the tomb of the Vizier Ipi with the "little tombs of the family and the vassals of the great man quarried out of the rock" and the chancellor Meketra's tomb with the attached tombs of his dependents Intef, Wah, and beside them three tombs of dependents at the sides of the courtyard. See also Winlock, *Excavations*, pp. 19, 29–30, 55, figs. 2, 6.

11. Conversation with Marsha Hill, Aug. 1, 1997.

12. "The tombs of Khety and Henenu lie on either side of MMA 509. The owners of these three tombs were clearly honored with the most favorable position in the row, closest to the king. MMA 509 clearly had the most advantageous position with respect to the royal mortuary temple," from Allen, "Some Theban Officials," pp. 20–21.

13. The temple of Mentuhotep II was regarded as holy up to the end of Dynasty 19. Even though it was used as a quarry after the time of Rameses II, enough remained to discern his location and greatness. The destruction of the temple was presumably stopped by the time of Dynasty 21 when Deir el-Bahri was again used as a necropolis; see E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* (London, 1907) I, p. 16. For the history of the necropolis during the Late Period, see Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, pp. 21–28.

14. A. Leahy, "Nespamedu, 'King' of Thinis," *GM* 35 (1979) p. 33. Leahy assumed that a difficult personal relationship with Mentuemhat could be a factor that kept Nespakashuty's family in Thinis.

15. Presumably, he moved to Thebes with his mother, Irterau, who was a chief attendant of the divine consort Nitokris. She was buried in Asasif (TT 390), PM I, 1, pp. 440–441, plan, p. 438.

16. H. E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *MMAB* 18 (1923) II: The Egyptian Expedition, 1922–23, pp. 20–23, 25, figs. 16–17; idem, *Excavations*, pp. 81–83.

17. The drawings were not signed, but their style suggested to Dieter Arnold that they were made by Lindsley F. Hall, who illustrated some of Winlock's publications. For example, see H. Winlock, *Bas-Relief from the Temple of Ramses I at Abydos* (New York, 1921).

18. Acc. no. 23.3.468. Only a few MMA relief fragments are published; see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide* (New York, 1983) no. 44, p. 104.

19. My convention of numbering registers from the bottom to the top is required by the state of the tomb.

20. Acc. no. 52.131.1–32 and 68.1; *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art: 1951–1956* (New York, 1956) pp. 32–33, no. 35, pls. 56–59; Richard A. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989) no. 73; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, London, 1981) p. 410, fig. 403.

21. Acc. no. 18236; unpublished.

22. Acc. no. 50–127; unpublished. The door has never been installed in the university museum.

23. Presumably, some of the fragments may still be in the tomb, but this could not be ascertained because of the collapse of the ceiling (author's observation, March 1998).

24. The observation of the stone was done by Ann Heywood, associate conservator in the Department of Objects Conservation, MMA.

25. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. 140136.

26. Ibid., neg. no. 140135.

27. EP numbers are temporary sub-numbers assigned to the

single fragments inside the acc. nos. MMA 23.3.468 and Princeton University 50–127.

28. See, for example, the wooden panel of Hesira, in Cairo; the stela of Wepemnofret, University of California; the stela of Rahotep, British Museum; the relief from the tomb of Sennuwka, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946) pls. 32, 33, 45.

29. Gerry D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven, 1986) no. 77; Jean Leclant, *Montuemhat quatrième prophète d'Amun, prince de la ville* (Cairo, 1961) pl. LXI; Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," pp. 5, 6; figs. 2b, 3.

30. J. Dümichen, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis* (Leipzig, 1884) pls. III, v.

31. *Ibid.*, pls. v, XIII.

32. Numerous Old Kingdom representations of tomb owners in a pelt vestment are known. To my knowledge, the first depiction of this garment is found on the Narmer palette; see J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels, 1961) pp. 28, 332. For the Old Kingdom examples, see C. von Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten* (Berlin, 1975) pl. XIX, figs. 245, 246, 276.

33. K. von Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)* (Mainz, 1983) pl. 49; J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Mainz, 1973) pl. 9.

34. The clearest example showing the functional character of the shoulder knot is a painted relief from the tomb of Merib in Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum* (Berlin, 1991) no. 13, p. 23. The stripes and the knot are painted red, which reveals how it was attached to the cloak.

35. The loss of the practical functions by the represented objects of daily life is a characteristic feature of Late Period art; see Elena Pischikova, "Mistakes in the Representation of Objects of Daily Life in Saite Reliefs," *GM* 139 (1994) pp. 69–92.

36. The loss of the practical sense of the knot is illustrated by the representation of Ibi and his wife sitting on a chair; see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 49. The depiction shows a knot tied over the wife's hand as she embraces her husband. However, Old Kingdom parallels show a wife embracing her husband over the knot; see N. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said* (London, 1901), pl. IV.

37. For example, an archaizing stela from the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 3949.20, was first published as an Old Kingdom stela; see *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 12 (1925) pp. 145, 147–148. Bernard V. Bothmer republished the stela as the Dynasty 26 relief in Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, Brooklyn Museum (New York, 1960) no. 24, pl. 22, fig. 50, p. 28. The relief shows a tomb owner sitting before the offering table. He wears a pelt vestment with a knot. As Bothmer noted, "This date is indicated not only by the inscription at the upper right but also by details such as the inverted frustum under the chair legs." The length of the knot and its position on the shoulder can also be used as an indication of the late origin of the piece.

38. There is another depiction of a pelt vestment in the tomb of Nespakashuty, on a priest from a scene of the Abydos Pilgrimage; see R. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum*, cat. no. 73. For the later tombs, see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, S 112; Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pl. 27. Royal iconography was based on Old Kingdom prototypes; see R. A. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV* (Leiden/New York, 1988) pl. XL, 1.

39. For an Old Kingdom parallel, see the representation of Ptahhotep in K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years* (London, 1961) fig. 72.

40. Fragment in situ. Photograph in Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. M7C 53.

41. For example, see W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu (G 7101 and G 7102)* (Boston, 1976) figs. 22, 23; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Meresynkh III (G 7530–7540)* (Boston, 1974) fig. 9; W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II (G 7110–20, 7130–40)* (Boston, 1978) fig. 47; *idem*, *The Offering Chapel of Kaemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1982) pp. 110–114, pls. C, D.

42. PM (1972) TT 48, p. 88; TT 66, p. 137, TT 78, p. 155, TT 81, p. 162.

43. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," figs. 2a, 2b.

44. Dümichen, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, pl. IV.

45. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. nos. T 725, T 728.

46. Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pls. 18, 21, 22.

47. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pls. 51, 54–56.

48. E. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari IV* (London, 1901) pls. 111, 112.

49. G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, 1994) pp. 160–165. Following M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, Robins mentions that the transition from the old 18-square grid to the new 21-square grid can already be seen in the tomb of Mentuemhat. "If figures of the twenty-fifth and twenty-six dynasties are analyzed on an 18-square grid, we find the proportions are no longer as in the New Kingdom, but that they have reverted to those found in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In addition, the limbs and shoulder width in the New Kingdom figures tend to be more slender than in the old models. Thus the lengthening of the body above the waist, the shortness of the legs, and the general stockiness result from a reversion to pre-New Kingdom proportions, not from any change of the grids."

50. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966) pl. XXI, 4.

51. Edna R. Russmann, "Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat," *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983) pp. 140–141.

52. G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) cat. nos. 240, 243, 251, pp. 72–74, pls. 40, 43.

53. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. M4C 301.

54. For the Hatshepsut offering bearer, see Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. 112.

55. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. no. M4C 302.

56. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. 112.

57. For the more information on the Baltimore fragments, see E. Pischikova, "Four Reliefs from the tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312) in the Walters Art Gallery," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* (forthcoming).

58. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. 107.

59. For the Hatshepsut temple, see Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pl. 107. For the tomb of Mentuemhat, see Peter der Manuelian,

Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-six Dynasty (London/New York, 1994) p. 131, fig. 9A.

60. For the New Kingdom tombs see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* V (Paris, 1969) figs. 130, 134, 136.

61. For the Old Kingdom slaughtering scenes, see W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* (Boston, 1980) IV, pl. XXI, a, b; idem, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978) fig. 49; Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz, 1977) pl. 10.

62. I am grateful to Dieter Arnold for showing me unpublished drawings of relief fragments from the temple of Mentuhotep II and discussing this question with me. Although the remains of the slaughtering scene from the Dynasty 11 Temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre show the Old Kingdom iconographic version with butchers binding a bull, it is questionable that Nespakashuty's sculptors could see it, as the temple was destroyed during the Ramesside period. It is more likely that they saw only private tomb decorations that were influenced by the royal temple. For Middle Kingdom private tombs, see E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire (2060–1560 avant J.-C.)* (Paris, 1987).

63. For New Kingdom parallels, see Vandier *Manuel* V, figs. 130, 2; 135.

64. For the Middle Kingdom, see *ibid.*, figs. 90, 95, 108, 6–8. Rare examples from the New Kingdom are also known, see D. J. Brewer, *Domestic Plants and Animals. The Egyptian Origins* (Warminster, 1994) fig. 7.10.

65. J. Assmann in his publication of Basa's tomb mentions that he does not know any parallel to Basa's slaughtering scene. It is understandable because the slaughtering scene from Nespakashuty's tomb was unpublished; see Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pp. 102–103, pls. 2.1, 1; 22.

66. For the description of the strap knot and its specific shape, see Stachelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, pp. 166–169, pl. XLIII, fig. 69.

67. Personifications of estates always carry offering containers on their heads and support them with their far arms.

68. For the earliest examples, see reliefs of the Low Temple of the Bent Pyramid at Dashur and reliefs from the mortuary complex of Cheops that were reused in the Dynasty 12 pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, in W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1990), p. 77, figs. 68, 68a; p. 99, fig. 93.

69. For the procession of offering bearers in the west portico behind the first court in Mentuemhat's tomb, see P. de Manuélian, "An Essay in Reconstruction: Two Registers from the Tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (no. 34)," *MDAIK* 39 (1983) pp. 131–150, pls. 26, 27, 29–31.

70. Although the Old Kingdom examples mostly show female offering bearers, the representation of both female and male bearers in one procession is also known since Dynasty 4. See the cult chamber of the mastaba of Queen Meresankh III in H. W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main, 1970) p. 31. There is also a second procession with both female and male offering bearers in Chapel E in Mentuemhat's tomb that could have inspired Nespakashuty's sculptors, but it is executed in sunk relief and very different in style and details; see Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," p. 7, fig. 7.

71. We can discuss only female figures because the leg position of the male figures is unclear.

72. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," p. 8, no. 44.

73. For parallels, see the Fertility scene from Sahura Temple at Abydos in Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 53a, nn. 46, 51. Identical knots can occasionally be seen on belts of male private statues; see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958) pls. XVI, 5; XVII, 5, 6.

74. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pl. 29. This shoulder knot kept its significance as a feature of the royal garment in the Middle Kingdom; see a relief of Senwosret I with the god Atum in the Cairo Museum in Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, fig. 94. It is seen occasionally in the New Kingdom; see the tomb of Sety I in C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1965) p. 176.

75. For the tomb of Ti, see G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913) pl. 113; for the tomb of Ptahhotep and Akhetotep, see N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhotep and Akhetotep at Saqqara* (London, 1901) pls. xv, xvi.

76. For a shoulder knot as a feature of male corselet straps and Divine Consorts' dresses, see Dynasty 25 representation of Amun-Re at Karnak in B. de Gryse, *Karnak* (Brussels, 1984) p. 67. For royal images, see a faience plaque of King Iuput from Thebes, ca. 735 B.C., in C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980) fig. 174, p. 212. For private reliefs, see the representation of Mentuemhat and his wife Shepenmut in Edna Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 2)," *JARCE* 34 (1997) p. 23, fig. 1.

77. For the later tombs, see the tomb of Ibi in Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 26. It is very possible that in the Old Kingdom the shoulder knot had a ritual symbolic meaning that was forgotten in the Late Period.

78. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 52.131.1–32; see Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum*, cat. no. 73.

79. Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 117–131.

80. See the examples of Syrians bringing tributes in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) in N. de G. Davies, *Painting from the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes* (New York, 1935) pls. x, xi, xi, xxii.

81. See, for example, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV (Paris, 1964) fig. 318.

82. D. Redford, *The Akhnaten Temple Project* (Toronto, 1988) p. 14, pl. 7, 1.

83. For the Old Kingdom examples, see Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London/New York, 1987) figs. 174, 177, 188, 540. For Dynasty 11, see fragments from the tomb of Neferu in W. K. Simpson, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt: Some Recent Acquisitions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 72 (1974) p. 106, fig. 7.

84. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, pls. x, 1; xxi, 1; xxvi, xxix, 1.

85. Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, 18236.

86. V. von Droste, *Der Igel im alten Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1980) cat. nos. 43–45, pp. 92–93, pl. III, 43.

87. For the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82), see N. de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)* (London, 1915) pl. xii; for the tomb of Nebamun, see Vandier, *Manuel* V, p. 1004, fig. 384.

88. For the New Kingdom tombs, see Vandier, *Manuel* V, pp. 957, 1004, fig. 384; Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. xii.

89. For the tomb of Mentuemhat, see H. W. Müller, "Der 'Stadtfürst von Theben' Mentemhet," *Munchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 (1975) fig. 11, p. 18. There is no doubt that Mentuemhat's reliefs started the inner necropolis tradition for the representation of the Abydos Pilgrimage; the reliefs in the tombs of Nespakashuty, Ibi, Basa, and Pabasa were influenced by Mentuemhat's tomb.

90. Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife," pp. 25–26, fig. 2.

91. According to the iconography of the composition, Nespakashuty's tomb was included in the so-called Middle Group (*Mittleren Gruppe*) together with Dynasty 18 tombs and the tomb of Ibi of Dynasty 26; see H. A[ltenmüller], *LÄ I*, pp. 42–45. One of the characteristic features of this group, when compared to other Middle Kingdom scenes, is that the representation of a mummy in a ritual boat has been substituted for a statue of the deceased in a naos-shaped shrine.

92. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum*, no. 74. According to Fazzini's description, "The register below represents the deceased Vizier and his wife Ketketj, or statues of them, making mythical voyages to and from Abydos."

93. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, p. 195, pl. 65. In n. 1140 Schenkel pointed out the similarity of the representation of the Abydos Pilgrimage in the tombs of Mentuemhat and Ibi. He noted that the representation of a sledge under the statue of the tomb owner on the ritual boat is a unique detail.

94. W. F. Petrie, *Abydos* (London, 1903) II, pl. xxxii, 3.

95. M. Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans L'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels, 1938) p. 103, fig. 57; A. Lhote and J. Vandier, *La Peinture égyptienne* (Paris, 1954) fig. 157.

96. B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period* (Paris/New York, 1979) p. 103.

97. A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), nos. 4, 7, 12, 15, 24, 25. No. 4, Papyrus of Nesi-Khonsu A, shows seven gods of the first seven pylons of the netherworld, illustrating chapters 145 and 146 of the Book of the Dead. No. 7, Papyrus of Tent-diu-Mut, shows four standing mummiform divinities of the netherworld: the first has the feather of Truth for a head, the second has two serpents, the third a cobra, and the fourth is jackal-headed. On No. 12, Papyrus of Bak-en-Mut, eight seated gods of the netherworld are seen above the back of the serpent. No. 15, Papyrus of Ta-udja-Re, shows four gods inside shrines. No. 24, Papyrus of Gaut-Sushen A, depicts four seated gods holding knives. No. 25, Papyrus of Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Nekht, shows eleven mummiform gods wearing the feathers of Truth on their heads.

98. *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 7, 18. They all show standing or sitting mummiform figures of the four sons of Horus.

99. *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 4, 10, 15, 25. The mummiform figure of Osiris wearing the Atef crown is usually represented with braces on its chest. No. 10, Papyrus of Pa-di-Amon, shows the iconography closest to the Nespakashuty tomb relief: Osiris is represented in a shrine enclosed in a pavilion with an open door.

100. *Ibid.*, nos. 17, 24, 27. No. 17, Papyrus of Khonsu-mes B, shows the mummy of the deceased on a lion-shaped couch. Papyrus no. 27 shows a lotus barge on which a mummy on a draped catafalque lies between two feathers.

101. For the New Kingdom and Late Period images of Osiris on stelae, see, for example, C. Barbotin et al., *Musée Granet. Collection*

Egyptienne (Aix-en-Provence, 1995) pp. 50–51, 56–59, 64–71.

102. Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pp. 119–120, fig. 42, pl. xxix.

103. Earlier examples of the Abydos Pilgrimage show two major types of chairs: in the New Kingdom the lion-legged chairs with plain vertical short back support without a papyrus flower: for the tombs of Puimre, Kenamun, Amenemhat (TT 82), Nebamun, see Vandier, *Manuel V*, pp. 957, 966, 987, 1004, figs. 368, 369, 380, 384. For the tombs of Kaemhet and Sennofer, see Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptische Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1923) I, pls. 207, 208, 308. For the Middle Kingdom block-throne, see the tomb of Sehetepibre, see Vandier, *Manuel V*, p. 918, fig. 344, 2.

104. G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* (Warminster, 1980) I, pp. 54–56, figs. 28.3, 28.5. All the illustrated examples date from the Middle Kingdom when they first appear.

105. For example, see the tomb of Nebamun (TT 90) in N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials* (London, 1923) pl. xxi.

106. It might be considered an innovation and a characteristic feature of the seventh-century reliefs. See, for example, the representation of a tomb owner in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) in Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 13. See also Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, no. 6, p. 7. Bothmer noted: "The later character of the relief is evident from the papyrus blossom, which is much more dainty than the sturdy examples of the Middle Kingdom chairs."

107. A lion-legged chair with a short vertical back without a blossom is in the tomb of Mentuemhat; see Müller, "Der 'Stadtfürst' Mentemhet," fig. 11, p. 18; Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife," p. 25, fig. 2; the same type of chair with a blossom and a block-throne in the tomb of Ibi is in Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 65; Pabasa's tomb shows Nespakashuty's type of chair. It is very possible that the Pabasa sculptor was influenced by Nespakashuty's; see Egyptian Department archives, neg. no. T 725.

108. The Mentuemhat reliefs show another type of awning with an architrave and a horizontal roof.

109. This feature was pointed out by Müller in his description of the tomb of Mentuemhat; see Müller, "Der 'Stadtfürst' Mentemhet," p. 19. This motif first appeared in the New Kingdom Dynasty 18 tombs, for example, in the tomb of Sennefer; see Vandier, *Manuel V*, pl. xlv, fig. 361.

110. Müller, "Der 'Stadtfürst' Mentemhet," pp. 31–32, fig. 26.

111. For the Ramesside parallels, see P. Barthelmeß, *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit* (Heidelberg, 1992) pls. 3, 4.

112. Describing the characteristic features of the Ramesside type of funerary procession, Davies remarked, "In the Ramesside period, the funerary cortege, consisting only of the mourners accompanying the bier and the bearers of the offerings, moves towards the door of a tomb before which the mummy is set up"; see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925) p. 39.

113. N. Strudwick, *The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose at Thebes* (nos. 294, 253, and 254) (Oxford, 1996) p. 75.

114. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, p. 39.

115. For example, in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) the sandals are shown hanging on the far, banded arm of an offering bearer, who carries a spear in his far hand and a chair in his near hand; see C. K. Wilkinson and M. Hill, *Egyptian Wall Painting. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York, 1983) p. 108. In the

tomb of User (TT 21) an offering bearer who carries a chair and weapons does not have sandals; see N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913) pl. XXI. There are only two examples of numerous variations of offering bearers with funerary equipment; no two repeat each other.

116. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. XXIV.

117. For example, Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXI; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes* (New York, 1922) I, pl. IX.

118. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. XIX. The representation of funeral booths in this tomb is different from later tradition; they were rarely found in pre-Ramesside tombs. For the representation of booths in the New Kingdom, see M. A.-Q. Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1957) p. 165; G. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun* (London, 1989) p. 192, pl. 124.

119. Müller, "Der 'Stadtforst' Mentemhet," pp. 31–32, fig. 26.

120. The representation of the mourners in boats reflect mostly the Dynasty 19 tradition; see Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, pp. 32–33, fig. 18; p. 82, fig. 50. Only a few Dynasty 19 examples are known; the first example is in the tomb of Menna (TT 69). Although Mentuemhat's sculptors visited the Menna tomb, they were not inspired by this modest composition of only three mourners, see Vandier, *Manuel V*, pl. XLV, fig. 353, 1.

121. Egyptian Department archives, MMA, neg. nos. T 725, T 732, T 733.

122. Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenhotep*, cat. no. 82, p. 50, pl. XI.

123. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 65.

124. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari* pl. 110.

125. For Karnak reliefs, see J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965) pl. 50; for the naos of Amasis in Louvre D 29 and Leiden AM 107, see J. Beines, "The Destruction of the Pyramid Temple of Sahure," *GM* 4 (1973) pp. 9–14.

126. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 109.

127. For the Temple of Amenhotep III at Wadi el Sebua, see *ibid.*, p. 162, figs. 100, 101. For the Temple of Ramses III at Karnak, see *ibid.*, p. 324, fig. 184.

128. For Theban tombs TT 138, TT 259, TT 19, TT 31, TT 23, TT 255, TT 159, TT 14, see Barthelmess, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, pls. 3, 4.

129. To my knowledge, representations of male mourners in the tombs of Ankh-ma-hor at Saqqara and Idou at Giza are the only ones dated to the Old Kingdom; see Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, p. 17, fig. 2; p. 134, figs. 76, 77. Reliefs from these two Memphite Dynasty 6 tombs show groups of male mourners wearing short kilts and short wigs. In the New Kingdom male mourners first appear in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara, where soldiers are seen lamenting the death of the general; see Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pl. 125.

130. TT 19, TT 341: Barthelmess, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, pl. 3.

131. For the Cleveland Museum relief no. 51.282, see Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, fig. 3.

132. For the tomb of Pabasa (TT 286), see photographs in the MMA Egyptian Department archives T 725, T 729; for the tomb of Ibi (TT 36), see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pl. 62; for the tomb of Basa (TT 389), see Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pl. 29.

133. The representation of female mourners as a close group of overlapping figures is known in private reliefs from the beginning of Dynasty 18 and continues into Dynasty 19; see Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses*, figs. 4, 10, 12, 17; Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, pl. XXIV; *idem*, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933) I, pp. 28–31. The women are usually shown in pleated dresses knotted at the front.

134. Redford, *Akhnaten Temple Project*, p. 14, pl. 7, 1; Martin, *Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, fig. 69, pl. 80.

135. For tombs TT 126, TT 123, TT 127, TT 100, see J. Setthast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Hamburg/New York, 1963) pl. 3.

136. For Ibi, see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, pls. 63, 64; for Basa, see Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, pl. 29.

137. For the tomb of Neferu, see PM I, 1, pp. 391–393; for the illustration, see Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, fig. 69.

138. See, for example, D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet: Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984) fig. 60.

139. See, for example, a relief from the reign of Hatshepsut or Tuthmosis III in B. V. Bothmer, *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis* (Mainz, 1988) cat. no. 4, p. 15.

140. The closest parallel is the representation of the ritual procession from the tomb of Neferu; see Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, cat. no. 26, p. 58; for Dynasty 11 private relief, see W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1990) I, fig. 101, p. 165.

141. PM I, 1, pp. 391–393.

142. H. E. Winlock called this tunnel "the ancient tourists' passage"; see Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pp. 102–104.

143. Bothmer, *Antiquities*, no. 15, pp. 44–46.

144. For an example of the Kushite relief with male figures that reflects the Old Kingdom style, see Dynasty 25 reliefs at Karnak in Gryse, *Karnak*, pls. 10, 11.

145. W. J. Darby, P. Ghaliougui, and L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (London/New York/San Francisco, 1977) I, pp. 225–228.

146. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, fig. 27; Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pls. 47, b; 49, a. The relief from tomb G 5110 is the closest parallel known to me.

147. For the Old Kingdom, see Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, fig. 187; for the Middle Kingdom, see L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1922) pl. 97; for the New Kingdom, see *idem*, *Die Relief und Malereien des neuen Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1934) pls. 5–7.